ADMINISTRATION OF GUJARAT UNDER THE MUGHALS (A.D. 1572-1737)

THESIS

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BY

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Dedicated
To
My Parents

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This is to certify that the thesis ***'Administration of Gujarat under the Mughals (A.D. 1572–1737)'*** by **Miss. Arshia Shafqat** is the original research work of the candidate, and is suitable for submission to the examiners and for the award of the Ph.D. degree.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AMU	Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh(India)
Agrarian System	I.Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India 1556-1707*.
Akhbarat	*Akhbarat* of Prince A‘zam (1702-04)
ARIE	Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy
BN	Bibliotheque Nationale (Paris)
EIAPS	*Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian* Supplement
EFI	W. Foster (ed.),*The English Factories in India*
EFI(NS)	Charles Fawcett(ed.),*The English Factories in India*
IESHR	*Indian Economic and Social History Review*
JASB	*Journal of the Asiatic Society*
JBBRAS	*Journal of Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JESHO	*Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*
JIH	*Journal of Indian History*
Letters Received	C.T. Danvers ed. *Letters Received by the English East India Company, etc.*
NAI	National Archives of India (New Delhi)
PIHC	*Proceedings of Indian History Congress*

CONTENTS

Chapter - I

Introduction

INTRODUCTION

Under Mughals, the province of Gujarat had a special status of its own. It was one of the most flourishing regions of India and was the most urbanized.[1]

With the conquest of Gujarat, the Mughal Empire came for the first time into possession of a considerable number of seaports, great and small, some of them like Surat and Cambay, enjoying a large foreign trade and visited by mariners and traders from all over the world. With the arrival of Dutch and English East India Companies in the seventeenth century, the mercantile activities in the region of Gujarat became even more brisk. A variety of commodities were exported from Gujarat ports like cotton textiles, indigo, saltpeter, spices, etc., the first two being most significant. To purchase these items, European Companies brought bullion in large quantities to India through Gujarat ports making the Mughal Empire one of the biggest importers of bullion mostly silver outside Europe in the seventeenth century. The quantity of this influx and its impact on Mughal economy especially on mintage of silver coins has been studied and debated by modern scholars.[2]

During the medieval period, Gujarat was well known for its manufactures. Ahmadabad, Surat, Baroda and Broach were major manufacturing centre of cotton textiles. Silk-weaving, using Bengal silk, was done in Ahmadabad, Surat and Cambay. Indigo was produced in Sarkhej, near Ahmadabad, but was refined in Cambay. In addition, it also had a strong

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1 Shireen Moosvi, *The Economy of the Mughal Empire, c.1595*, Delhi, 1987, p.315.

2 Aziza Hasan, Silver Currency output of the Mughal Empire, *IESHR* , IV, I,1969, pp.85-116; Shireen Moosvi, Silver Influx, Money Supply, Prices and Revenue Extraction in Mughal India, *JESHO*, XXX, I, 1987, pp.47-94; Najaf Haider, Precious Metal Flows and Currency Circulation in the Mughal Empire, *JESHO*, XXXIX, 3, 1996, pp.289-304.

handicraft industry, making weapons, furniture and jewellery. Gujarat also supplied a great variety of drugs and medicinal products to the rest of India and abroad.[3]

The administration of ports was unique to the provincial administration of Gujarat as it was not found in non-coastal provinces of Mughals. The brisk foreign trade from these ports became an important source of income for Mughal Empire. So for these port cities, Mughal Empire came up with different apparatus of administration with officers like *mutasaddis*, *shahbandars* etc.

Barring the ports of Gujarat especially Surat and Cambay, sources of the period do not provide consistent and enough information about the ports under Mughals in other non-coastal provinces. In the light of this meagre information, the study of port administration in Gujarat becomes even more important. It can be assumed that the structure of administration which the Mughals established at Gujarat ports especially Surat was broadly applicable to ports in other provinces.

The province of Gujarat is also important in terms of Agriculture and land revenue system. There is no uniform opinion regarding the method of land revenue assessment in Mughal Gujarat. This province was very extensively cultivated and revenue incidence in money terms was high, suggestive of high productivity in cash crops like cotton, indigo etc.[4]

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3 For more details, see Surendra Gopal, *Commerce and Crafts in Gujarat,16th and 17th Centuries*, New Delhi, 1975, pp.186-217. Also see , *The Cambridge Economic History of India, I,c.1200-1750* , eds. Tapan Raychaudhury and Irfan Habib, Cambridge, 1982, pp. 261-307.

4 I.Habib, *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, 1556-1707, New Delhi, 1999, pp.234, 265-267; Shireen Moosvi, The Economy of Gujarat, c.1600: The *A'in*'s Statistics, *PIHC*, 44th session, Burdwan, 1983, Delhi, 1984, pp.224-233.

To cater to the needs of mercantile activities, the Mughals established mints in the province of Gujarat. Among a number of mints, Ahmadabad and Surat were successively the largest mints of the Empire-former in the last quarter of the sixteenth century and the latter in the seventeenth century. Mints were also a source of considerable income to the state, so their proper organization was an administrative necessity.

The present study of administration of Gujarat under Mughals is important in the sense that the attempt is to take into account the general features of Mughal provincial administration marking out such features as were unique to the province of Gujarat like port administration, mint administration etc. The attempt would also include an assessment of degree and level of penetration of Mughal administration into the Gujarat province. Lastly, the present research would also take into account that whether the administrative structure imposed by the Mughals in Gujarat was an exact replica of administration as prevalent in other Mughal *subas* or had variations.

Sources

The province of Gujarat under Mughals is fortunate in terms of source material. These sources are enormous as well as varied. They include Persian works (like official histories, administrative manuals, memoirs, collection of letters etc), English and Dutch Factory records, travellers' accounts etc. In addition to these literary sources, there is epigraphic and numismatic evidence.

As far as the use and utilization of these sources is concerned, almost all the sources are utilized or are being in the process of utilization for writing history of the region and province from different angles. For instance,

M.N.Pearson has made use of Portuguese sources for the history of Gujarat Sultanate and early phase of Mughal Empire in the region of Gujarat and western India in his various works.[5] On the other hand, Ashin Das Gupta has exploited Dutch sources for his study of Surat Port and trade and commerce of the region.[6] The regional Persian chronicles both official and unofficial, like *Tabaqat-i Akbari, Mir'at-i Sikandari* and *Mir'at-i Ahmadi,* as the basic sources for any study of Gujarat, have been widely used for various studies concerning the Gujarat, especially for political and administrative history. Same is the case with the English Factory Records. But still, there are archival sources in Persian for the region of Gujarat of the 17th and 18th centuries which are yet to be utilized for writing the history of administration of Gujarat province under Mughals.

In this category, comes the *Akhbarat* which are often translated as newsletters. They are really reports of the public proceedings at the courts of the Mughal Emperor and headquarters of Provincial Governors, recorded by *wakils* or agents of nobles and high officials. Though not strictly "official", these served as important source of information for contemporary historians, both official and unofficial.

These *Akhbarat* are in '*shikast*' Persian which is difficult to read and understand. The *Akhbarat* we concern ourselves with are those sent by the *wakil* or agent of the Amber ruler, Jai Singh Sawai, to his master from Prince A'zam's headquarters at Ahmadabad. Prince A'zam was Governor of Gujarat

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5 M.N.Pearson, *Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat: The Response to the Portuguese in the Sixteenth Century,* New Delhi, 1976.(It is his pioneer work. His many books include *Pilgrimage to Mecca: The Indian Experience, The Portuguese in India, India and The Indian Ocean 1500-1800* jointly edited with Ashin Das Gupta, *The World of the Indian Ocean, 1500-1800:Studies in Economic, Social and Cultural History*).

6 Among many books, his pioneer work is *Indian Merchants and Decline of Surat* ,c. 1700-50, Wiesbaden, 1979.

from R.Y.46 to 50 (1701-1705 AD). The extant *Akhbarat* cover only the period R.Y.s 46-47 (1702-04). The originals are in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London (Morley 133).[7] These daily reports cover a variety of subjects concerning provincial administration such as orders regarding various administrative matters (problems of law and order, collection of tribute from chiefdoms, administration of refractory areas etc.); appointments to posts, transfers, degradations and dismissals of officials, or their reinstatement, or their leave or posting; grant of robes of honour, presentation of gifts, administration of justice; working of *Jagir*, *mansabdari*, branding and verification systems; complaints concerning a wide range of matters (against officials, *jagirdars* etc.); information on provincial finance etc.

For Surat and its administration, there is an extremely important source in the form of a collection of documents that was compiled by an anonymous middle or low ranking official in Surat towards the middle of seventeenth century. These documents concern Surat and neighbouring localities and provide extremely important and useful information on its administration, commerce and socio-political life. From administrative point of view, it provides information on the working of land revenue administration, port administration and judicial administration as prevailed under Mughals among other information.

These documents are in '*shikast*' Persian and their only extant copy is available at the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris.[8]

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7 Also available at the Centre of Advanced Study in History, AMU, microfilm no.34, the sheets marked A1 to A231.

8 I have consulted the microfilm copy of these documents available at the Centre of Advanced Study in History, AMU (microfilm no. 470).

The other sources which are yet to be utilized adequately for study of Gujarat under Mughals includes a collection of contemporary documents from Cambay and *Mir'at-ul Haqaiq*, the dairy of a retired Mughal official in Surat, I'timad Ali Khan, written in 1727. The former is found in the National Archives of India (New Delhi) and are more than fifty in number. It includes papers concerning transactions of property, disputes of property, marriage deeds, etc. The latter is another very important source for the study of Mughal administration in the Gujarat.[9] Although, it is a later source when Mughal Empire began to loose its sheen, yet it is important in the sense that it contains official papers and revenue statistics and taxes at Surat and Cambay, among other information. But the most important part of this source is the author's dairy, who, as a low medium level bureaucrat in Mughal India, held around twenty administrative posts, spanning over a period of thirty years.

9 The only extant copy of the manuscript is found in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, Fraser Collection, 124. I have consulted the microfilm copy available at the Centre of Advanced Study in History, AMU (microfilm no.127).

Chapter II

Pre-annexation Sultanate: Administration under Gujarat Sultans

PRE-ANNEXATION SULTANATE: ADMINISTRATION UNDER GUJARAT SULTANS

At the time of its establishment in 1407, the sultanate of Gujarat rested mainly on the support of the nobles of the Tughluq Empire serving in the region. After the collapse of the central authority in the Tughluq Empire following Timur's invasion (1398) the nobles stationed in Gujarat favoured the establishment of an independent sultanate in the region. But Zafar Khan, governor (designated as *wazir*) of Gujarat, was reluctant to declare his independence. Eventually, in 1407, agreeing to the request of the nobles serving under him in the province, Zafar Khan assumed sovereign status with the royal little of Muzaffar Shah.[1]

During the fifteenth and first half of the sixteenth century, the Gujarat Sultanate was a powerful, well administered and prosperous state of the country. At the height of its glory the Gujarat Sultanate, as a the result of expansion during the latter part of the fifteenth and the first quarter of the sixteenth century, held sway over no less than twenty five *sarkars* or districts. They may be enumerated as Jodhpur, Jalor, Nagor, Sirohi, Dungarpur, Banswada (in the north and north-east), Patan, Ahmadabad, Baroda, Broach, Surat, Godhra, Champanir, Sunt, Nadaut (in the central plain), Sorath, Navanagar, Kutch (in the west), Nandurbar, Mulher, Ramnagar (in the east and south-east) and Daman, Bassein, Mumbai and Danda Rajapuri (in the South).[2]

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1 Shaikh Sikandar, *Mir'at-i Sikandari*, ed. S.C.Mishra and M.L.Rehman, Baroda, 1961, pp. 18-19.

2 Ali Muhammad Khan, *Mir'at-i Ahmadi*, ed. S.Nawab Ali, Baroda, 1928, I, p.17. The *sarkar* of Mulher has been misread as Malabar.

More than half a dozen of inscriptions[3] of Gujarat Sultans have been found at places which now lie outside the boundaries of the present day Gujarat and are therefore quite valuable in indicating the political thrust of the Gujarat Sultans in the areas that later on became part of Rajasthan and Maharashtra.(See Map) These inscriptions have been found at Jalor in Rajasthan (five inscriptions), Bhamer (two) and Nandurbar (one) in Maharashtra.[4]

Assignment System

Under Sultanate, the territories were divided into two parts, one under local chiefs and other directly governed by the Sultans. The administration of the latter was based on the assignment system which was inherited from the Delhi Sultanate. Under it, the nobles were assigned different regions (*iqta/shiq/khitta*) who were required to maintain themselves and troops out of the revenues of the *iqtas*. The holders of these assignments were known as *muqtis* or *hakim* or *walis*.[5] Although these assignments were transferable, under Tughluqs, especially Firoz Shah, they were more or less became hereditary. This trait of assignment system was in existence in pre-Sultanate Gujarat. In 1400, Malik Badr was *muqti* of Sorath and in 1403-04, his son Malik Shah came to occupy this position.[6] Under these circumstances, assignments and posts held by nobles under Gujarat Sultans, from its very

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3 Numerous Arabic and Persian inscriptions of Gujarat Sultans (about 123 in no.) have been found forming an important source of information for Gujarat Sultanate. For details, see Dr.Ziauddin A.Desai's lecture, 'Persian and Arabic Epigraphy of Gujarat, their Historical Significance' (Included in a series of Lectures organized by The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda), Baroda, 1982.

4 For details, see *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement* (*EIAPS*) 1974, pp 34-38,42, 47-49.

5 For basic features and its development, see I.Habib, *Essays in Indian History, Towards a Marxist Perception*, Delhi, 2000, pp.82-87.

6 *EIAPS*, 1962,pp.37-38; *EIAPS*, 1968, pp.21-23.

beginning, were practically viewed as hereditary. Nobles resisted transfers and rulers of Gujarat found it difficult to control their nobility. This is borne out by the repeated rebellions of the nobles during the first half of the fifteenth century. They were apparently provoked by the intentions of Sultan Ahmad Shah I (1411-1442) of redistributing the assignments.[7] According to Nizamu-ddin, the author of *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, the nobles surrendered before the Sultan on an assurance that they would be given their old *iqtas*.[8] This suggests that the revolts were provoked by the attempt to transfer the assignments of these nobles.

In view of this, Mahmud Begarha (1458-1511) granted a concession to nobles in 1475. A law was promulgated by the Sultan by which sons and heirs of nobles and soldiers who lost their lives in various wars fought by Sultan were to inherit their assignments without any deduction.[9] From epigraphic evidence, it appears that in AD 1506, Malik Salar had *iqta* (*shiq*) of Jalor (in Rajputana), which was inherited by his son Malik Buddhan in 1523 after his death. Even the former's title Hablu'l Mulk was also inherited by the son.[10] In 1522-23, Malik Ayaz, who held the charge of Junagarh (Sorath) and Diu for a number of years since the days of Mahmud Begarha, died. Sultan Muzaffar Shah II granted his assignment to his eldest son Ishaq.[11]

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7 *Mir'at-i Sikandari*,pp.30-31, 40-41.

8 Nizamu-ddin Ahmad, *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, ed.Barun De and Hidayat Hosain, Calcutta, 1935,III, pp.96-97.

9 *Mir'at-i Sikandari*, p.131.

10 *EIAPS* 1974, pp.34-38, 42.(In all five inscriptions of Gujarat Sultans have been found in Jalor District of Rajasthan, four at Jalor and one at Sanchor. These are significant for other information as well).

11 *Mir'at-i Sikandari*, pp.202-203; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, p.192.

A noble holding territory as assignment was given both the administrative as well as fiscal rights over it and in return for this favour he fulfilled the obligation of serving the Sultan with a contingent. Barbosa, a Portuguese official visiting Gujarat in about 1515 says that in Ahmadabad and many other inland towns the Sultan of Gujarat has his governors and collectors of revenue.[12]The assignment holders were also responsible for the administration of their *iqta*. Barbosa mentions Malik Ayaz as Governor of Diu where people of country were properly punished, dealt justly and according to law.[13]

Though *iqtas* tended to become largely hereditary assignments, the case of transfers or resumptions of *iqtas* were not altogether lacking. In 1473 AD Sultan Mahmud Begarha ordered the transfer of the *iqtas* of some of his leading nobles only after they were suspected of rebellious designs.[14] In 1526 AD, the charge of Sorath and Diu was resumed from Malik Ishaq (son of Malik Ayaz) as he rebelled against the Sultan.[15]

With the weakening of the authority of the Gujarat Sultans after the death of Bahadur Shah (1538), the hereditary tendency of assignments led to the division of Gujarat sultanate into *jagirs* of important nobles who more or less became independent in their respective localities. It is to this that Nizamuddin Ahmad refers when he says that the grandees in Gujarat had acquired 'autonomy' (*istiqlal*) in their domains (*jagirs*).[16] During Mahmud Shah's reign (1538-54) It'mad Khan had carved out an autonomous kingdom

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12 D.Barbosa, *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, London, 1918-21, I, pp.125-126.

13 *Ibid.*, I, pp.130-133.

14 Farishta, *Tarikh-i Farishta*, Naval Kishore press , Lucknow, 1905, II, p. 200.

15 *Mir'at-i Sikandari*, pp. 203, 265-66.

16 *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, p. 245.

of his own in Ahmadabad, Cambay and the districts between the rivers Sabarmati and Mahi. The Fauladi chiefs, Sher Khan and Musa Khan, had the *sarkar* of Patan under their control. Chengiz Khan enjoyed absolute authority over Surat, Broach, Baroda and Champaner. Saiyyid Miran and Saiyyid Hamid, the son and the grandson respectively of the great saint of Gujarat, Saiyyid Mubarak Bukhari, were well entrenched in Dholka and Dhanduka. Amin Khan Ghori had made himself independent in Junagadh and Sorath.[17]

Conflicts among these nobles were common.[18] These circumstances facilitated the Akbar's conquest of Gujarat in 1572-73 AD.

From its very inception, the Sultanate of Gujarat was confronted with the task of controlling the hereditary chiefs[19] who had become quite strong and assertive during Firoz Shah Tughluq's reign. These chiefs, particularly the major ones, like those of Junagarh, Jhalawar, Jagat, Champanir and Idar located on its outer periphery, appeared to be determined to dismantle the emerging Sultanate. In this struggle, they not only made attempts to coordinate their moves with each other, but also to seek armed intervention from the rulers of Malwa and Khandesh in their favour. In this connection it is of interest to point out that in the only contemporary source available for the Gujarat (for the first quarter of the sixteenth century) these local chiefs are referred to only as *rajas* and *rais*.[20] These designations apparently show that these local chiefs did not constitute a homogenous group but were

17 *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, p.245; *Mir'at-i Ahmadi*, I, p. 107.

18 *Ibid.*, pp. 245-260.

19 Aijaz Bano, 'The Zamindars in the Sultanate of Gujarat', *PIHC*, 45 Session, Annamalainagar 1984, Delhi, 1985, pp.340-41.

20 The solitary contemporary source for 16th Century Gujarat, that is available is Sharfuddin Bukhari's *Tabaqat-i Mahmud Shahi* (compiled before 1515 AD).Its Ms. is lodged in Maulana Azad Library, AMU (No.162 *Farsiya Akhbar*) ff.8b-10a, 11a-12b,14a-15b.

hierarchical in nature.[21] At the outset of their rule, Gujarat Sultans had realized their vitality and importance in the administration and consolidation of their kingdom.

In the western part of the sultanate of Gujarat, the vast peninsula of Sorath had numerous local chiefs of different clans.[22] The most powerful of them, the chief of Junagarh was reported to have controlled two thousand one hundred villages.[23] This chief was eventually subjugated by Mahmud Begarha in 1470-71 A.D.[24]

But before that, a number of epigraphs of Gujarat Sultans found in different parts of Sorath point to the fact that petty chiefs of the region were subjugated quite early by the Gujarat Sultans. It appears from an inscription of Ahmad Shah dated 1418 from Mahuva that within the first few years of his reign, the eastern Sorath was included within the Sultan's territories.[25] Further, at least the area stretching from Mangrol to Una was continuously subjected to the authority of Gujarat Sultans since we find at Mangrol, Veraval, Prabhas Patan, Una etc. a number of inscriptions representing almost every Sultan(or king) right from the days of pre-Gujarat Sultanate(of Muhammad Bin Tughluq Shah) down to the conquest of Sorath by Mahmud Begarha.[26]

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21 For details, see Irfan Habib, 'The Social Distribution of Landed Property in pre-British India',*Enquiry*, New Series,II,no.3.

22 Abul-l Fazl, *A'in-i Akbari*, ed. H. Blochmann, 2 vols. Bib. Ind. Calcutta, 1867-77, p. 492.

23 *Tabaqat-iMahmud Shahi*, f.7a.

24 *Ibid*.ff.8b-10a.Before that Ahmad Shah I (AD 1410-1442) made an attempt to subdue the Rai Mandalik of Junagarh in 1414 but was only able to ensure the payment of tribute to Gujarat Sultanate (Shaikh Sikandar, *Mir'at-i Sikandari*,pp.43-44.)

25 *EIAPS*, 1953-54,pp.53-54.

26 *Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy* (*ARIE*) 1954-55 Appendix C. nos. 135, 136, 139, 141, 150, 151, 159, 165, 170 etc.

During Ahmad Shah I's reign, we found these local chiefs including of Junagarh paying tribute (*salami* and *malguzari*) to the Gujarat Sultans.[27] After the annexation of his territory in 1470-71A.D., *Rai* of Junagarh became Muslim and was given the title of the *Khan-i Jahan* and a *jagir*.[28]

Mahmud Begarha also subjugated the Badhel chiefs of the Sorath region by conquering their territories of Sankodhara (Beyt) and Jagat (Dwarka) in 1482-83 A.D.[29]

Among the chiefs located in the central and eastern parts of Gujarat, the Rawal Chief of Champanir was most powerful. It remained a source of considerable worry for the rulers of Gujarat as it alternately switched its allegiance from Gujarat to Malwa and from Malwa to Gujarat depending on the relative strength of the two powers at a particular point of time.[30] Finally, Sultan Mahmud Begarha annexed it to his kingdom in 1484-85 AD after a prolonged military campaign.[31] Two Arabic inscriptions on the Halol and Godhra gateways of the Champanir fort, constructed by Sultan Mahmud Begada, are synchronous with the conquest of the fort by Mahmud on 21 November, 1484.[32] A Persian inscription from the Jami'Masjid at Champanir further enforced the fact that Sultans of Gujarat had established their complete sway over the territory of Champanir.[33]

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27 *Mir'at-i Sikandari*,pp.43,47-48; Nizamu-ddin Ahmad, *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III,pp.102,103-104.
28*Tabaqat-i Mahmud Shahi*,ff.9b-10a; *Mir'at-i Sikandari*,p.126.

29 *Tabaqat-i Mahmud Shahi*,ff.11b-12a.

30 *Tabaqat-i Akbari*,pp.62-64,105,107,126,148,159-160; *Mir'at-i Sikandari*,pp.47,67-68,106.

31 *Tabaqat-i Mahmud Shahi*,ff.14b-15b; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*,pp.125-126; *Mir'at-i Sikandari*, pp. 136-137.

32 *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* (*EIM*), 1929-30, pp.3-4.

33 *EIM*, 1937-38, pp.13-14.

The Rathor principality of Idar, located on the northern periphery of Gujarat Sultanate, was troublesome for the Gujarat Sultans. The real founder of the independent Sultanate of Gujarat, Zafar Khan (later on Muzaffar Shah I) had during the period of his Governorship thrice invaded the principality of Idar in AH 796(1393-94 AD), in AH 801 (1398-99 AD) and in AH 803(1400-01).[34]Chiefs of Idar were most of the time hostile to the Sultanate of Gujarat. Due to this, chiefs of Idar invited the aggression of Gujarat Sultans against itself on several occasions.[35] Eventually, it was suppressed and its territory was annexed to Gujarat Sultanate between 1515-16AD and 1518-19 AD. In 1519, Malik Mubariz-ul Mulk was made in charge of Idar.[36] Later on, Nizam-ul Mulk was appointed as *havaldar* (*muqti*/Governor) of Idar in 1520.[37]

Throughout the fifteenth century, the south-eastern periphery of the Gujarat Sultanate was dominated by other Rathor principality of Baglana. It lay between Surat and Nandurbar.[38] According to Abul Fazl, the chiefs of Baglana owed allegiance either to the Sultans of the Deccan or to the Sultans of Gujarat.[39] It is found that in 1530s, when the chief of Baglana paid homage to Sultan Bahadur Shah of Gujarat, he also gave his daughter in marriage to him.[40] *Mir'at*, further, states that Bhurji, *zamindar-i mulk-i Baglana* used to serve the last Gujarat Sultan Muzaffar Shah with 3,000 sawars.[41]

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34 *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, pp.85,88,89; Also see, S.C.Mishra, *Rise of Muslim Power in Gujarat*, Bombay,1963, pp.144-146,199-201.

35 *Mir'at-i Sikandari*, pp.63, 178-179; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*,pp.125-126,175-176.

36 *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, pp.184-186.

37 *Mir'at-i Sikandari*, p. 193.

38 *A'in*, I,p.492.

39 Abu-l Fazl, *Akbarnama*, ed. Agha Ahmad Ali and Abdu-r Rahim, Bib. Ind. 3 vols., Calcutta, 1873-87, III, p.30.

40 *Mir'at-i Sikandari*, p.272.

41 *Mir'at*, I, p.21.

In the area of Kutch, there were two chiefs - a chief of Jadon race with his capital at Bhuj in *Kutch-i Buzurg* and other was Jam of Navanagar in *Kutch-i Khurd*.[42] We do not have much information about their earlier history. For the chief of *Kutch-i Buzurg*, the author of the *Mirat* tells us that he possessed two thousand and eighty villages and served the Sultans of Gujarat with four thousand *sawars*.[43] About Jam of Navanagar, the same source states, that in the time of Sultan Muzaffar III, he held under his authority four thousand villages *dar-o bast* in addition to the one fourth share as *zamindari* from another four thousand villages and served the Sultan with five thousand *sawar* and four thousand *piyada*.[44] Ever since the time of Sultan Mahmud Shah III (1538-1554) the chiefs of the Kutch are said to have bean granted permission to mint coins.[45]

To the north of Baglana, there was chief of Rajpipla. He ack nowledged the suzerainty of Gujarat Sultan and held in addition to one fourth share in *pargana* Naudat, sixteen *parganas dar-o bast* in lieu of the military services he rendered to them.[46] The lesser chiefs who had their presence in the Northern periphery of Gujarat Sultan were Dungarpur, Sirohi and Bagad. These chiefs generally were forced to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Sultans of Gujarat and pay tribute to them. [47]

Besides these chiefs located on the periphery of the Sultanate, there also existed a number of lesser chiefs and intermediaries in the heartland of the Gujarat Sultanate, especially in the region represented by Ahmadabad,

42 *A'in*, I, p.492.
43 *Mir'at*, supplt. pp.226-227.
44 *Mir'at*, I, p.285.
45 M.S.Commissariat, *A History of Gujarat*, Bombay, 1957, I, pp.499-500; II, p.26 fn 22.
46 *Mir'at*, supplt. p.233.
47 *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, pp.123, 125-126,148-149,184-186,210,212-213.

Baroda and Broach. They included Girasya Rajputs of Jhalawar, Kolis of Mandal, Gohils of Ranpur, Nadaut and Garasia of Dandwara. These local chiefs were subjugated one by one. Ahmad Shah I conquered Mandal in 1417-18.[48] Two epigraphs of Gujarat Sultans dated 1417 and 1462 have spotted in Mandal which proves the political supremacy of Sultans over it.[49]The same Sultan also forced the chief of Nadaut to accept the overlord ship of Gujarat and to pay a regular tribute to Sultans in 1417-18.[50] In 1429-30, Sultan Ahmad I also subjugated the chief of Jhalawar and its territory in view of its chief’s defiant attitude.[51]A number of epigraphs of Gujarat Sultans from Ahmad Shah I down to Muzaffar Shah II ranging in dates from 1425 to 1523-24 have been found at different places of Jhalawar.[52] These epigraphs are indication of the fact that Gujarat Sultans had established their supremacy in the region of Jhalawar and put in place effective administrative headquarters in different parts of the region.[53] We don’t find mention of Gohils of Ranpur in Persian chronicles of the period. The Ras Mala, a bardic chronicle, supplies us information about Mahmud Begarha’s conquest of Ranpur in 1464-65.[54]Two inscriptions of Gujarat Sultans found at town of Ranpur point to political hegemony of Sultans over chief of Ranpur.[55] Apart from the above mentioned chiefs, there are plenty of references to the koli and

48 *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, pp.102-103.

49 *Epigraphia Indica*, II, 1894,pp.24-28; *EIAPS* 1963,pp.29-30.

50 *Mir’at-i Sikandari*, pp.46-48; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, p.104.

51 *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, pp.115-116.

52 For details, see *EIAPS* 1974, pp.12-14.

53 Also see, *EIAPS*, 1953-54, pp.50,60; *EIAPS* , 1963,pp.19-20; *EIAPS* 1974, pp.12-14,44-46.

54 A.K.Forbes, *Ras Mala*, ed. J.Watson, New Delhi, 1973, pp.277-80; *A History of Gujarat*, I, pp.179-80.

55 *EIAPS* 1953-54, pp.67-69,70-71.

giras[56] chiefs who held under their possession certain areas either independently or in subjection to other bigger chiefs. Sultan Ahmad Shah I allowed them to hold tracts falling within their areas on the condition that they could enjoy only one fourth of the total yield. The one-fourth income of a village going to the *girasya* was *banth* and the remainder three-fourth *talpad* or the income of the state.[57] According to *Mir'at-i Sikandari*, the land held by *girasya* during the reign of Sultan Mahmud III could support 25,000 horses.[58] By the time of Bahadur Shah there was hardly any local chief (*raja* or *girasya*) in Gujarat who did not owe allegiance to the Gujarat Sultans. An idea of their association with the Gujarat Sultanate can be formed by taking into account the resistance they offered to Mughals for twenty years after the conquest of Gujarat by Akbar in the 17th regnal year of his reign.[59]

Local Administration under Gujarat Sultanate

As regards the local administration under Gujarat Sultanate, there is no direct information in both contemporary and near contemporary sources. But there are stray references in historical works and epigraphs of the period to the officers like *Kotwals* and *Qazis*. This implies that towns had some sort of administrative machinery under Gujarat Sultanate.

Before the foundation of Gujarat Sultanate, there was an officer with the designation of *Kotwal* of the whole province. An epigraph dated 1405 AD found at Cambay mentions Malik Khushbash as *kotwal* of the *arsa* (province)

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56 *Giras* means levy imposed by *zamindars* on land not their own. For details see, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, 1556-1707, Delhi, 1999, pp. 176,177n, 184 & n, 186, 379 &n, 399.

57 Ali Muhammad Khan, *Mir'at-i Ahmadi*, Supplement, Baroda, 1938, pp.228-229; *A History of Gujarat*, I, pp.118-119.

58 *Mir'at-i Sikandari*,p.364.

59 For details see Chapter 13, Tributary Chiefs.

of Gujarat during the viceroyalty of Zafar Khan (who tater on founded the Gujarat sultanate in 1407 AD).[60]

In Gujarat Sultanate, it appears, *kotwal* was present in every town, small or big much like the Mughal Empire. According to *Tabaqat-i Mahmud Shahi*, in 1467-68 Mahmud Begarha issued a general order where by *ummals*, *hakims* and *kotwals* (important officials of the state) were instructed to construct wells at the distance of twelve *kurohs* and insure security on highways etc. for the benefit of common people.[61] Individually, important cities of the Sultanate like Ahmadabad, Patan, Champanir (Muhammadabad), port cities of Dui, Cambay, far flung towns like Mangrol and Prabhas Patan (in the Sorath area) have recorded presence of *Kotwals* and their offices. [62]

Obviously, the primary concern of Kotwal was maintenance of law and order in the area of his jurisdiction. In 1473, Mahmud Begarha granted title of Muhafiz Khan to Malik Jamaluddin, then *kotwal-i lashkar* and in charge of armoury and appointed him as *kotwal* or *shahna* of Ahmadabad to tackle deteriorating law and order situation in and around Ahmadabad. He tactfully suppressed the thiefs, robbers and made the high ways and roads safe.[63] Mubul-ul Mulk, the *Kotwal* of Ahmadabad during the reign of Sultan Muzaffar Shah II, it is said, was quit sharp and quick in detecting thief and criminals.[64]

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60 *EIAPS* 1963, p.10. In this regard, we have also an inscription of same year i.e.1405 where Zafar Khan is mentioned as *muqti* of '*arsa*(province) of Gujarat (*EIM*, 1939-40,pp.2-3).

61 *Tabaqat-iMahmud Shahi*, f.6b.

62 *EIAPS* 1953-54,pp.59-60; *EIAPS* 1955-58,pp.94-96;*EIPAS* 1963 , pp.15-16, 34; *Tabaqat-iMahmud Shahi*, pp.4a,10a; *Mir'at-i Sikandari*,pp.125-126,174-175; *Tabaqat-iAkbari*, pp.117,148.

63 *Tabaqat-iMahmud Shahi*, p.10a; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, pp.148-149; *Mir'at-i Sikandari*, pp.125-126.

64 *Mir'at-i Sikandari*, p.217-18.

Next to policing the town and surrounding areas, the *Kotwal*, if capable, was also allowed to collect *peshkash* from the local chiefs of the adjoining regions. During the reign of Mahmud Begarha, the power and pride of Muhafiz Khan, then *Kotwal* of Ahmadabad, had reached to such an extent that his son Malik Khizr was able to secure *peshkash* from the chiefs of Sirohi, Idar and Bagad.[65]

Further, *kotwal* was also to execute the punishment sentence given by the higher authorities. Under the orders of Mahmud Begarha, the *kotwal* of Ahmadabad put to death Raja Bhim, in charge of fort Beyt, when principality of Jagat was conquered in 1470s.

Sometimes, *kotwals* had to take care of state guests also. Sultan Mahmud of Malwa arrived in Champanir (Muhammadabad) to take shelter in Gujarat Sultanate due to disturbances in his kingdom. The *kotwal* of the city was directed to tack care of him whom the former performed with utmost sincerity.[66]

In port cities, *Kotwal* was also to arrange maintain naval ships (both small and big) for defence purposes. In 1430-31 (Ahmad Shah I's reign), the island of Mahim and its neighbouring areas were under attack from Malik Hasan entitled *Malik-ut Tujjar*, the trusted noble of Sultan Ahmad Bahmani. The Gujarat Sultan sent an army under the command of his son Prince Zafar Khan to tackle this assault. At the same time, he ordered Mukhlis-ul Mulk, *kotwal* of Diu to help the Prince. Accordingly, he arranged seventeen ships (both big and small) from the ports of Patan, Diu and Cambay in order to provide help to Prince Zafar Khan.[67]

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65 *Tabaqat-iMahmud Shahi*, p.10a; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, pp.148; *Mir'at-i Sikandari*,pp.125-126.

66 *Mir'at-i Sikandari*,pp.174-175.

67 *Tabaqat-i Akbari*,p.117.

Apart from police functions, *kotwal* at times also indulged in carrying out works or measures meant for the benefit of common people. An epigraph dated 1419 AD from Patan refers to the excavation and construction of a well during the reign of Ahmad Shah I by Abdullah Sultan, the *kotwal* of the city Nahr wala i.e. Patan.[68]Another epigraph dated 1490 from same place records the construction of a mosque by Malik Siraj Sultani, the *kotwal* of the city Patan.[69]

Under Gujarat Sultanate, *kotwals* were also appointed to stop illegal practices in the area under their jurisdiction. In an order issued in 1455 AD in Ahmad Shah II's time, the officials of the *kotwali* of the town of Prabhas Patan were told that the new officials or those coming on short visits were in the habit of forcibly getting the bedsteads etc from the house of people, which was an illegal act. Therefore, it was ordered in concurrence with the learned, the jurists, the leading men, the *mahajan*, the traders, the *thanadar* and other office- bearers, that the practice should be stopped forth with.[70]

Ali Muhammad Khan, author of *Mir'at-i Ahmadi*, has listed *kotwali* dues in the urban taxation of two cities i.e. Ahmadabad and Patan for the Gujarat Sultanate. These figures are nominal and only for two cities. They point to the fact that likes the Mughal Empire; some dues were also in existence under Gujarat Sultanate that was to be collected by the *kotwals* of the city.[71]

It is also recorded that at times *kotwal* of the city was also involved in exacting some illegal levies not permitted by the state authorities. An

68 *EIAPS* 1963, pp.15-16.
69 *EIAPS* 1963, p.34.
70 *EIAPS* 1955-58, pp.94-96.
71 *Mir'at*, I, pp.17-19.

epigraph dated 1403-04 AD from Mangrol states that the *muqta‘* of Sorath ordered remission and removal, with the avowed object of ensuring the prosperity of the town of Mangrol and welfare of its inhabitants, the amount that was being charged by the office of *kotwal* of the town at the time of marriage of the Hindus.[72]

Another instance can be cited from the port of Cambay. An order was issued in 1512 AD by Muzaffar Shah II to stop a number of state levies and imposts then current in Cambay at various offices like Custom house, harbours, *kotwali* etc. [73]

Another officer involved in the local administration was *qazi*. As Gujarat Sultanate inherited the administrative practices of Delhi Sultanate, it can be safely presumed that their judicial administration would consist of officers like *qazis*, *muftis* etc. From chronicles and epigraphs, presence of *qazis* and *muftis* is attested in towns.[74] During Mahmud Begarha’s reign, Najmuddin was *qazi* of Ahmadabad.[75] It was considered so necessary to have a *qazi* in every town or place that the first administrative business always included *qazi*’s appointment among other officials.[76] Obviously, the function of *qazi* was to settle disputes in the light of Muslim law. There are some Gujarati evidences which refer to the involvement of the *qazi* in legal matters even both parties were Hindus. In 1525-26, a sale deed was written involving two *banias* when the affairs of Rajpura situated near Ahmadabad were managed by *qazi* Shaikh Farid and other officers like five *diwani* officers, *Mir*

72 *EIAPS* 1968, pp.21-24.

73 For the tentative text and translation of this epigraph, see *EIAPS* 1963, pp.39-42.

74 *Tabaqat-i Mahmud Shahi*, p.6a; *EIAPS* 1953-54, pp.59-60; *EIAPS* 1974 p.18; *Mir’at-i Sikandari*, pp.60-61;M.N.Pearson, *op.cit.*p.136.

75 *Mir’at-i Sikandari*, p.132.

76 *Tabaqat-i Mahmud Shahi*, f.6a

Kohi, etc.[77] In 1542-43, a mortgage deed was written for a resident of Ahmadabad. At this time, *qazi* Nasirdi, Atif Khan, *durgapal*(in charge of fort) and other officers conducted the entire business of Ahmadabad.[78]

Land Revenue Administration

It is said that in the context of land revenue, control over land was a crucial factor for Gujarat Sultans.[79] But not much information is forth coming about the land revenue administration under Gujarat Sultans. As such there is no information regarding mode of assessment, magnitude of revenue etc in the sources of the period. It is also seems that bureaucratic administration did not have a wide prevalence in that period. There are only stray references to officers like '*amils* (revenue collectors), *mustaufi* (auditor) etc. In 1428, Ahmad Shah (1411-1442) arranged that two persons were to have joint charge of each office, and, in order that they might act as checks on each other, they were to be selected from the different classes: one from the personal followers of the Sultan, the other from the local nobility. The '*amils* (revenue officers) of the *parganas* were also appointed on this principle. The system thus introduced continued in operation until the end of the reign of Sultan Muzaffar II, son of Mahmud Begarha.[80] In 1467-68, a general order was issued by Mahmud Begarha directing '*ummals* (plural of '*amil*) and other officials like *hakims*, *kotwals* to dug wells and ensure security on routes for the benefit of people.[81] Sometimes, *amils* were also oppressive on peasants. In

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77 P.Prasad, Lekhapaddhati Documents of the 16th and 17th Century, paper presented at the Indian History Congress, 46th session, Amritsar 1985 (cyclostyled)

78 *Ibid*. pp.137-138.

79 M.N.Pearson, *op.cit.*, Chapter III.

80 *Mir'at-i Sikandari*, pp. 58-59.

81 *Tabaqat-i Mahmud Shahi,* p.6a.

1526, *rai'ya* of Cambay complained to Bahadur Shah against the oppression of the *'amil* of the area.[82]

At the local level, there were *desais* or *patels* to manage the affairs and collect revenue. Their office was hereditary in nature.[83]

Trade and Commerce in Gujarat Sultanate

Trade and commerce was encouraged by the Sultans of Gujarat almost as a matter of policy. Its commercial prosperity was mainly based on overseas trade with West Asia and South East Asia. This was brought out by the well-known remark of the second Lodi ruler Sultan Sikandar (1491-1517): 'The pivot of the Kingdom of Delhi rests on wheat and barely, while the foundation of the sultanate of Gujarat rests on corals and pearls, because there are eighty-four ports under its sultans.'[84] We can have an idea of the magnitude of trade in the reign of Bahadur Shah (AD 1526-1537) from the fact that a band of Khurasani merchants had to pay sixty thousand rupees as custom duty at the ports of Gujarat in a single trip.[85] In 1572, when the Mughals annexed it to their Empire, about 19 per cent of its revenue came from urban taxation.[86]But M.N.Pearson calculates that in 1572 the revenues from customs provided 6 per cent of the total revenues of Gujarat.[87]

Currency System of Gujarat Sultanate

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82 *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, p.210.

83 S.H.Hodivala, *Studies in Parsi History*, Bombay, 1920, pp.151-164; Also see M.N.Pearson, *op.cit.*, p.140.

84 *Mir'at-i Sikandari*, p.247.

85 *Ibid.*, p.280.

86 *The Economy of the Mughal Empire*, pp.315-16.

87 M.N.Pearson, pp.23-24. But his estimate has been contested by Shireen Moosvi in her review of Pearson's book, *Medieval India-A Miscellany*, IV, 1977, pp.217-220.

Any study of administration under Gujarat Sultanate cannot be completed without the mention of its currency system which was unique in itself. Around the fifteenth century, the Gujarat region had maintained profitable and extensive trade with West Asia as well as South East Asia and was not drastically disturbed by the fragmentation of the Delhi Sultanate.[88]

On the whole, the fifteenth century was a period of worldwide scarcity of precious metals particularly silver. Despite this fact, Gujarat Sultanate earned Silver through surplus overseas trade and was able to maintain a debased silver currency throughout the fifteenth century.[89] Gujarat Sultans struck coins in gold, silver and copper of small units. As for circulation, gold coins were scarce and silver and copper coins were most common.[90]

Of the fifteen Sultans, the coins of nine Sultans have been found and catalogued. From these coins, it appears that Gujarat Sultans had mints at five places- Ahmadabad, Ahmadnagar (Idar), Mustafabad (Girnar), Muhammadabad alias Champanir and Khanpur.[91]

In AD 1407 (AH 810), Zafar Khan laid the foundation of independent Gujarat Sultanate but no numismatic evidence of his sovereignty is available. The earliest dated coin of the Gujarat Sultans appears to be the one of 1424-25(AH 828) issued by Zafar Khan’s grandson and successor Ahmad I (1410-1443)[92] who established mints at Ahmadabad and Ahmadnagar, the former being first both in time and in importance.

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88 M.N.Pearson, *op.cit.,* pp.10-14.

89 Simon Digby in *The Cambridge Economic History of India,* I: c.1200-1750, ed. Tapan Ray Chaudhary and Irfan Habib, Cambridge, 1982, p.99.

90 J.F.Richards,ed. *The Imperial Monetary System of Mughal India*, Delhi, 1987, pp.26-27.

91 G.P.Taylor, The Coins of the Gujarat Sultanat, *Journal of Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, XXI, 1902,pp.305,314-318.

92 Edward Thomas, *The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings,* Delhi, 1871/1967, pp.350-353.

The dynasty reached the culmination of its power in the long reign of Mahmud Begada(1458-1511). To numismatists, his reign has an importance and an interest perhaps even greater than that of Ahmad I. Mahmud issued a silver coin known as *mahmudi* which was in current use throughout the Gujarat during his own and subsequent reigns. This was the most common of the coins that numismatists have been able to procure in the bazaars of Gujarat for the period of Sultanate. No definite statement can be made about the value of the *mahmudi* as its weights underwent frequent changes.[93]

After Mahmud Begarha eight more sultans ruled Gujarat of whom Bahadur Shah (AD 1526-36) alone showed any ruling ability. Under weak Sultans of later period, the prerogative of minting coins was devolved upon local chiefs. Ever since the time of Sultan Mahmud Shah III (1538-1554), the chief of the Kutch are said to have been granted permission mint coins.[94]

Likewise, during the reign of Muzaffar III, the Jam of Navanagar was granted permission by the Sultan to mint coin.[95]These coins were modeled on Mahmud's principal silver coin and were circulated in the regions of upper and lower Kutch. In southern Gujarat, especially Baroda, Broach and Surat, a variety of *mahmudi* called Changezi came into circulation during the last days of Gujarat sultans. The name Changezi is derived from Changez Khan who was, during the last ten years of the region of Muzaffar III, the most important person in southern Gujarat.[96]

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93 *Epigraphia Indica*, IV, 1896-97, New Delhi,1979,pp.297-300.

94 *A History of Gujarat*, I,p. 500; vol. II , p. 26 n 22.

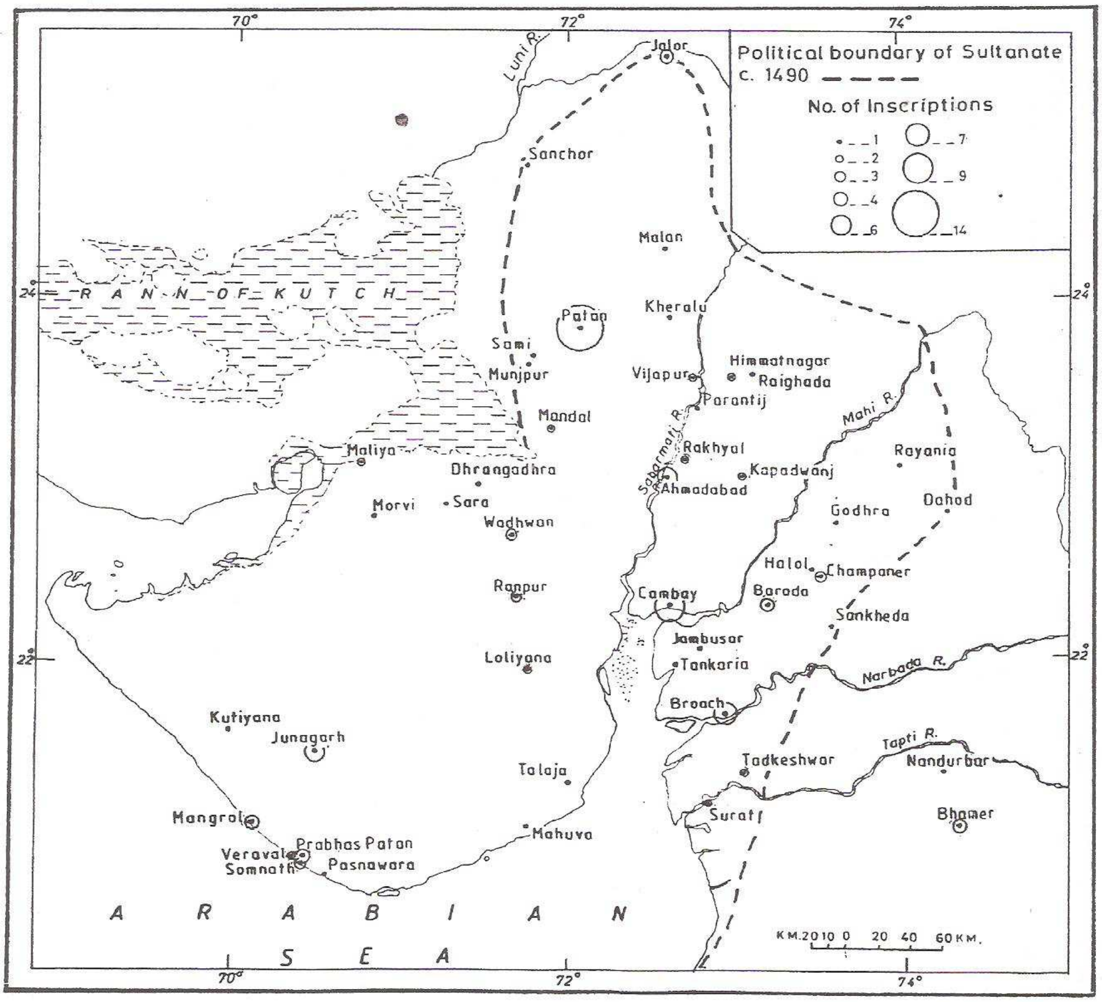
95 *Ibid*, I, pp. 499-500.

96 *Mir'at*, I, pp.19-20,213; Numismatic supplement,2,*Jonrnal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Articte 141, 1941, pp. 463-470.

On the eve of the Mughal conquest of Gujarat, at least four types of the *mahmudi*, of different weights, fineness and exchange rats, all modeled on Mahmud's principal silver coin, circulated in various parts of Gujarat. Besides coins of chiefs of Navanagar, Kutch and *Changezi*, chief of Baglana was given concessions by Akbar to mint *mahmudis* in the name of the Mughal Emperor.[97]

97 S.H.Hodivala, *Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics*, Bombay, 1976, pp. 115-130.

FIND SPOTS OF INSCRIPTIONS OF GUJARAT SULTANATE



Chapter III

Governor's Office, Functions and Powers

GOVERNOR'S OFFICE, FUNCTIONS AND POWERS

The head of province (governor) under Mughals was officially styled the *sipah salar* or *hakim.* He was also called *subadar* and *nazim*.[1] He was appointed by the imperial order technically called the *'farman-i sabti'*. [2]

In 1580, Akbar created *subas* and divided empire into twelve parts and a uniform system of administration was sought to be created for the whole empire. In each *suba*, a *sipah salar*, a *diwan*, a *bakhshi*, a *mir 'adl*, a *sadr*, a *kotwal*, a *mir bahr* and *waqi'a nawis* were appointed.[3] But in Gujarat, appointment of *sipah salar* and other officers began almost immediately after its conquest in 1572-73.[4] The first Governor to be appointed to Gujarat was Khan-i A'zam, Aziz Koka in 1527-73.[5](For other appointments of Governor before 1580, see Table of Gujarat Governors).

Functions

Under Mughals, the foremost function of the Governor of the *suba* was 'watch and ward' of the province. He was to appoint reliable and dutiful men for the country police, and keep intelligent men in the secret information service, and use them with firmness and tact to protect the subjects from the rapacity of oppressive government officers as well as the cruelty of the brigand and also from his own friends or relations who would be apt to take advantage of their position and behave unjustly towards them.[6] As the chief

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1 *A'in-i Akbari*, I, p.282; P.Saran, *The Provincial Government of the Mughals* (1526-1658), Allahabad, 1941, p.170.

2 *Ibid.*, p.194.

3 *Akbarnama*, III, p.282.

4 For details see, Shireen Moosvi, Formation of Provincial Administrative Structure Under Akbar, *PIHC*, 57th session, Madras University,1996,pp.323-29.

5 *Akbarnama*, III, p.8.

6 *A'in*, I, p.282 (*A'in-i Sipahsalar*); *Mir'at*, I, pp.163-170 (*farman* to Governor of Gujarat).

executive officer of the *suba*, the governor was mainly responsible for the maintenance of law and order and prevention of robbery and theft in his jurisdiction. He was held responsible for the robberies committed in his province. In case the offenders were not traced, he was to make up the loss of the plundered persons.[7]

An enemy Maratha commander plundered some merchants on the highway of Surat, 80 miles from Ahmadabad. When the matter was brought to the notice of the provincial governor, Prince A‘zam (1701-1705), he evinced lack of concern as it had occurred within the jurisdiction of Amanat Khan, the *mutasaddi* (governor) and *faujdar* of Surat. For this neglect of duty, A‘zam’s rank was reduced. His agents were required to compensate the merchants.[8]

As we know, at local level *thanadar* was mainly responsible for the maintenance of law and order in his area of posting who worked under the supervision of *faujdar* of the area. During Prince A‘zam’s tenure as governor of Gujarat, there were reports of disturbances in Patan, Sorath and Ahmadabad. There was negligence of duty on the part of the *thanadars*. They were absent from the area of their duty. Hearing about this, Governor took action against the defaulting *thanadars*. In the first case, a week’s time was given to them to join their duty otherwise they would be replaced. In the other

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7 *The English Factories in India*, 1618-69, ed. W. Foster, 13 vols. Oxford, 1906-27 (henceforth *EFI*) EFI 1637-41, p. 61. *Ibid.* 1646-50,pp.300-302, *Ibid.* 1655-60, p.35; Jean Baptiste Tavernier, *Travels in India*, 1640-67, tr. V.Ball, 2nd edition revised by W.Crooke, New Delhi, 1977,I, p.47; Niccolao Manucci, *Storia Do Mogor*, 1653-1708, tr.W. Irvine, Low Price Publication, Delhi, 2005, I, p.197, II, p.434.

8 Hamid-ud din Khan, *Ahkam-i Alamgiri*, tr. S.N.Sarkar, *Anecdotes of Aurangzeb*, Calcutta, 1988, pp.50-51.

case, they were transferred and their *mashrut* rank was withdrawn, although they were relatives of the *diwan* of the *suba*.[9] On a quite few occasion, Governor Prince A'zam also questioned Amanullah Baig, the *faujdar-i gird* of Ahmadabad and gave instructions to control the growing conditions of insecurity in Ahmadabad.[10]

The author of *Hidayatu-l Qawa'id*, says that after taking charge, the governor should get an estimate as to the number of *sahbandi* troops, necessary for doing the work of control and administration (*rabt* and *zabt*). If he finds his retainers (*tabinan*) and *sahbandi* insufficient and in other matters also requires the Emperor's sanction and help, then make a petition and submit it through his mediator at Court. If the Emperor grants the force that he considers necessary for the efficient management of the *suba*, well and good. Otherwise, if governor thinks that he can govern the *suba* at his own expense and recover his cost during his tenure of office after getting the province under control then do it.[11]

Prince Aurangzeb had, during his short stay as governor of Gujarat (1646-47), taken active measures to chastise the *Koli* marauders in the province by raising troops at his own expense. In appreciation of this, and in

9 *Akhbarat* A, 30, 38. (These *Akhbarat* are sent by the *wakil* or agent of Amber ruler, Jai Singh Sawai, to his master from Prince A'zam's headquarters at Ahmadabad. He was governor of Gujarat from R.Y.46 to 50 (1701-1705 AD). The extant *Akhbarat* cover only the period R.Y.s 46-47(1702-04).The originals are in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London (Morely-133).

10 *Akhbarat* A, 69, 80, 84.

11 Hidayatullah, *Hidayatu-l Qawa'id*, Ms. Abdus Salam Collection, 379/149, Maulana Azad Library, AMU, f.14a.(Written in 1715, it is a rare Persian book, intended to serve as a lesson book about the duties of officers, etc.)

view of the fact that he had spent much more then he received as income, Emperor rewarded him by increasing his *mansab* by a thousand horses.[12]

Forts were crucial in the maintenance of law and order especially in the areas inhabited by kolis and seditious *zamindars*. Due to this, governors of Gujarat paid special attention to forts. During Akbar's reign, Governor of Gujarat, Shihabuddin Khan (1577-82), a capable administrator is stated to have constructed or repaired and strengthened in all about 80 forts at different strategic places in the province.[13] In 1609, governor Murtaza Khan (1606-09), repaired the fort situated at Kadi, a *pargana* inhabited by kolis in the *sarkar* of Ahmadabad. [14]During Shahjahan's reign, the activities of kolis and kathis had made the highways in the Gujarat unsafe. When A'zam Khan was appointed as Governor of Gujarat in 1636, first he paid attention to this menace. To crush them, he made two forts to be constructed named A'zamabad and Khalilabad at *pargana* Bahiel (in *sarkar* Ahmadabad), the home of kolis. A strong fort was also constructed at Ranpur.[15]

In 1689-90, Shuja'at Khan, governor of Gujarat, requested sanction of money for the repair of A'zamabad fort, when it was ravaged by heavy rains.[16] During Prince A'zam Khan's reign as Governor of Gujarat (1701-05), a village in Baroda *pargana* was reported to be *mawas* and *zor-talab* from ancient times (*qadim-ul ayyam*). *Thanadar* of the area, Fateh Jang, requested for a construction of a new and strong fort in area. In this regard, he also

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12 'Abdu-l Hamid Lahori, *Badshahnama*, ed. Kabir Al Din Ahmad, Abd Al Rahim and W.N. Lees, Bib. Ind. 2 vols. Calcutta, 1867-68, II, p. 510, *Mir'at*,I, p.220.

13 *Mir'at*, I, pp. 141,143-144.

14 *Ibid.*,p.188.

15 *Mir'at*, I, pp.211, 213.

16 *Mir'at*, I, p.324.

sought the help of the *mansabdars* of the *suba* who were camping in Surat to tackle Maratha attack. Accordingly, an order was issued accommodating both the requests. [17]

As land revenue was the main source of income for the state, Governors of the provinces were especially instructed to take care of agriculture and peasants in spite of the fact that principal officer for this function was the *diwan-i suba*. They were instructed to work for increase in agriculture by encouraging peasants and extending loans (*taqavi*) to them which should be recovered in easy installments.[18] They were, further, advised to give encouragement to *Jins-i Kamil* (superior, high value crops like cotton, sugarcane, chiefly grown for market or cash crops) and in the matters of revenue, should act according to the rules (*dasturu-l'amal*). He was further advised to make inquiries individually from all *ryots*.[19]

Accordingly, governor took care of Agriculture and peasants. Dutch factor, de Jongh, (writing in 1629), says that in Gujarat, all districts (towns including villages) must account to the governor of the Ahmadabad [Gujarat] for all the land they have sown.[20]

During the governorship of Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan (1577-82), on the complaints of the peasants of the *pargana* of the environs (*haveli*) of Ahmadabad and other *parganas*, the Governor of the *suba* made a measurement of the cultivable area for the second time.[21]

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17 *Akhbarat A*, 107.

18 *A'in*, I, p.282 (*A'in-i Sipah salar*); *Mir'at*, I, pp.163-170 (*farman* to Governor of Gujarat).

19 *Ibid.*

20 Wollebrand Geleynssen de Jongh, 'Verclaringe ende Bevinding', etc., extracts transl. W.H. Moreland, *Journal of Indian History* , IV (1925-26), 69-83, p.78.

21 *Mir'at*, I, p.141.

The province of Gujarat suffered grievously from the famine of 1630-32. During this period, extreme degree of oppression and distress was borne by the peasantry of the *suba*. In view of this, the newly appointed Governor Mirza Isa Tarkhan (1642-45) established 'crop sharing' or *batai* in which the risks of seasons was equally shared by the state and the peasants and consequently 'in a short time brought the country back to prosperity'. [22]

In *Akhbarat* of Prince A'zam (1702-04), few instances of peasants' complaints to *nazim* against officials and others are recorded. In 1704, there were reports from Dholka (a *khalsa* territory) of oppression committed by *darogha-i rasad* on peasants of the area due to which said *pargana* had became desolate. The *nazim* of the *suba* immediately affected the recall of the oppressive official.[23] In one instance, crops of peasants were destroyed by the personal staff of Prince A'zam during a hunting expedition. Governor duly compensated the victims when the peasants of the area lodged a complaint to him in this regard.[24]

A complaint was made that the peasants bringing grain from Petlad had to pay Rs 2/- per cart as *rahdari* to the *nakadars* and *chaukidars* stationed by the *faujdar-i gird*, Amanullah Baig. Consequently, the said officer was directed not to exact this levy and withdraw *nakas* and *chaukis*.[25]

Generally, in Mughal set up, Governors were entitled to make recommendations for promotions and appointments to important offices in the

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22 *Ibid.*, pp.217-18.

23 *Akhbarat A*, 103.

24 *Akhbarat A*, 146.

25 *Akhbarat A*, 77, 78. Some other complaints of peasants can be cited from the same source (*Akhbarat A*, 12,111,112,114,116,117,131, 226).

suba. We find the governors of Gujarat exercising this power. During the initial years of Aurangzeb's reign, Diler Khan was an important noble. But his loyalty was suspected by Aurangzeb and ultimately he lost the royal favour. These misunderstandings were removed by the governor of Gujarat Bahadur Khan (1667-70).After this, in 1667, Diler Khan was appointed as *faujdar* of Sorath at the *tajwiz* (proposal) of Bahadur Khan, Governor of Gujarat.[26]

A village in *pargana* Petlad was held in *in'am* by members of the Charan caste on the condition of performing police duties. On some ground, it was resumed. However, in 1672-73, members of this caste approached Jaswant Singh, governor of Gujarat. On his recommendation, they were restored to the *in'am* land with the previous condition.[27]

After the Rathor rebellion, the *faujdari* of Jodhpur (or Marwar) was attached to the *subadari* of Gujarat. In 1687-88, due to the rebellious activities of Durga Das, no one dared to take up the deputyship of Shuja'at Khan, the *nazim* of Gujarat at Marwar. At last, Kazim Baig, a capable military commander accepted this post and the said governor recommended him for the increment in his *mansab*.[28]

Under Mughal provincial structure, *subadars* had wide military obligations. For *subadar* of Gujarat, the presence of *Kolis*, *Kathis* and recalcitrant *zamindars* (*zor-talab* areas) and continuous military campaigns in the Deccan area had made his position quite crucial and important from

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26 Mehta Isardas Nagar, *Futuhat-i Alamgiri*, tr. Tasneem Ahmad,Delhi,1978, pp.92-93 (ff.59b-60a); *Mirat*, I ,pp.274,276.

27 *Mir'at*, I, p.288; *Agrarian System* ,p.358; See also, W. Erskine, 'Journey in Gujarat,1822-23', *JBBRAS*,XXV,1918,406.

28 *Mir'at*, I, pp.317-18.

military point of view. During Aurangzeb's reign, Maratha raids & menace of Shivaji further increased the pressure on the Gujarat *subadar* for military obligations.

According to Mandelslo, the German traveller who visited Gujarat in 1638, the *suba* of Gujarat comprised within its jurisdiction 25 great towns and 300 villages and its revenue amounted to more then six million crowns or one crore and twenty lakhs of rupees. From this amount the governor maintained 12,000 horses that he was obliged to keep for the royal service.[29] According to Manucci, in *suba* Gujarat, a garrison of ten thousand cavalry is kept there.[30]

During Shahjahan's region, Mir Arab, the *diwan* of Surat, was in need of troops. Shaista Khan, *subadar* of Gujarat was directed to provide 1000 troops comprised of both cavalry and infantry to the said officer of Surat.[31] In 1670, *subadar* of Gujarat Bahadur Khan went to Surat with 300 horses to protect the town from the attack of Shivaji.[32]

In war with Rathors (1679), Muhammad Amin Khan, *nazim* of Gujarat, provided military help with person in himself to the imperial forces campaigning in Udaipur.[33] In 1697, *mutasaddi* of Surat Amanat Khan died and there was fear of Maratha attack on Surat. In this situation, till the arrival

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29 M.S.Commissariat, *Mandelslo's Travels in Western India*, London, 1931, p.28.

30 Niccolao Manucci, II, p.400.

31 Volume of documents , mostly relating to Surat and neighbouring localities in Gujarat, ranging over a period 1583-1648, by an anonymous official preserved at Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris under No.Blochet Suppl. Pers. 482.A microfilm copy of the document also available at the Centre of Advanced Study in History, AMU, microfilm no. 470 (henceforth Ms.Blochet 482 *BN*), f.14b.

32 *The English Factories in India , New Series*, Oxford, 1936,1952,1954 (henceforth *EFI NS*) *EFI* (*NS*) 1670-77, I, pp.189-190.

33 Saqi Musta'idd Khan, *Ma 'asir-i 'Alamgiri*, ed. Agha Ahmad Ali, bib. Ind. Calcutta, 1871, pp.185-190.

of new appointee, Shu‘jaat Khan, *nazim* of Gujarat, for the protection and satisfaction of people of Surat, sent a considerable force under Nazar Ali Khan to Surat.[34] In 1702-03, again, there was a fear of Maratha attack on Surat and Baglana. The *subadar* of Gujarat Prince A‘zam was directed to send force to that side in order to tackle the impending danger.[35]

As the supreme officer of the *suba*, the Governor (*subadar*) had to supervise and keep a watch over the working of all the officers posted in the *suba*. In 1648-49, Mir Musa Muizzul Mulk was governor of both Surat and Cambay. He had fallen into disgrace and indebted many lacs of rupees to the Emperor.[36] Subsequently, he was removed from the governorship of Surat but his removal from the governorship of Cambay withheld till the arrival of report from Ghairat Khan (deputy of Dara Shikoh officiating as governor of Gujarat). The governor was instructed to furnish report having information about the working of the officer in question and condition of Cambay which was under his charge.[37] This implies that Governor of *suba* had some say in the removal of the officers posted in the province.

In 1677, the merchants of Surat grew discontented with Ghiasuddin Khan, the *mutasaddi* (governor) of the place. Headed by Mirza Muazzam, an Armenian merchant of Surat, they lodged a complaint with Muhammad Amin Khan, the governor of Gujarat and then with the Emperor. As result of this, Ghiasuddin was dismissed.[38]

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34 *Mir’at*, I, p.353.
35 *Ibid*., I, p.342.
36 *EFI* 1646-50 ,p. XXII.
37 *Ibid*., 1651-54, p.8.
38 *EFI* (*NS*), 1670-77, p.283.

In 1696-97, the Brahmans of *pargana* Senore (in *sarkar* Baroda) made complaint to Governor Shuja'at Khan against *faujdars* and *amils* of their area who tortured them to forced labour which was included into prohibited cesses.[39]

In 1703-04, peasants of Cambay lodged complaint to *nazim* of the *suba* against the oppressive activities of Muhammad Kazim, *mutasaddi* of the place.[40]

To Prince A'zam Khan, governor of Gujarat (1701-1705), *mutasaddis*, *ryots*, and *muzari'*(cultivators) of a village in Kadi *pargana* lodged complaint against oppression of the army on them, which was stationed there to chastise the Kolis.[41]

Under Mughals, the governors of the *suba* had judicial powers as well. The Governor, like the Emperor, set apart a day for administering justice in person.[42] The *qazi* and other law officers attended the court and helped the governor in deciding cases.

Writing about Gujarat, de Jongh, says, that all serious offences, capital and other crimes were disposed of by the governor and some of the oldest citizens.[43] The governor also inquired into the cases of the captives that were sent to him by the local officers and dealt with them in accordance with the law.[44] But, provincial governors and other executive officers were not allowed

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39 *Mir'at*,I, p.338
40 *Ibid.*, p.355.
41 *Akhbarat* A ,184.
42 *Mir'at*, I, p.275.
43 De Jongh, p.74.
44 *Mir'at*, I, p.282.

to inflict capital punishment on anyone. A *farman* of Akbar in 1582 forbade the provincial governors to award death punishment without his permission.[45]In this regard, Thevenot (visiting India in 1666) says: "The king reserves that power to himself and therefore when any man deserves death, a courier is dispatched to know his pleasure, and they fail not to put his order in execution so soon as the courier comes back".[46] Further, Aurangzeb sent concise copies of regulations, concerning the nature of punishment to be awarded in various crimes to provincial governors and *diwans* for their help and guidance.[47]

At times, the *nazims* of Gujarat were asked to arrange for money and goods to be sent to Mecca in charity. During Shahjahan's reign, when Hakim Masih-uz Zaman and Mulla Khwaja Khan entitled Khwaja Jahan desired to go on pilgrimage, *nazim* of Gujarat was ordered to provide goods of worth Rs 2, 40,000 from Ahmadabad and Surat to them which were to be distributed among the destitute of Holy city.[48]

Governor of the *suba* was to receive royal *farmans* sent to him from the imperial court in ceremonial fashion. From *Akhbarat*, we encounter the great formalities for receiving *farmans* by the Governor of the *suba*. The Governor mounting on a special horse, rode out and after reaching within the *Darya-i Farman Gah* (the encampment where the *farman* was placed) received the *farman*.[49]

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45 *Akbarnama*, III, p.380; *Mir'at*, I, 163.
46 S.N.Sen, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, Delhi, 1949, p.27.
47 *Mir'at*, I, pp.278-83.
48 Lahori, I, pp.406-407.
49 *Akhbarat* A, 38, 146; *Mir'at*, I, p.338.

In the regulation of trade and commerce, Governors of *suba* had also role to play. In Gujarat, the Mughal administration tried to check the practice of adulteration of indigo from time to time. In 1640 this practice was brought to the notice of Azam Khan, the governor of Gujarat. He had more then a hundred indigo makers summoned and after discharging a whole volley of railings on them for their base methods he threatened to punished with death any who should there after dare to mix oil in sand or any other, substance then what nature gave to indigo.[50] Some items could not be exported without state permission. In this regard, de Jongh says that foreigners had freedom to trade in all sorts of commodities except those which were prohibited, such as gunpowder, lead and saltpeter. They were not allowed to be exported without the governor's permission. But, this permission was, however, not difficult to obtain for consideration.[51]

In 1572-73, the *suba* of Gujarat came under the subjugation of Mughals during the reign of Akbar. From that time, *nazims* or *subadars* were appointed to Gujarat from imperial headquarter on a regular basis. During Akbar's reign (1573-1605), nine *subadars* were appointed to govern this *suba*. Among them were the high nobles like Khan-i A'zam, Mirza Aziz Koka, Abdu-r Rahim Khan-i Khanan and Prince Murad.

Eight *subadars* were given charge of Gujarat during the reign of Jahangir (1605-1627).[52] Among them, Prince Shahjahan governed this province through his deputies for 6 years (1617-23).[53]

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50 *EFI*, 1637-41, p.274.

51 De Jongh, p.75; Mandelslo, p.28.

52 *Mir'at*, I, p.99.

53 Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, ed.Saiyid Ahmad, Ghazipur and Aligarh,1863-64, pp.211, 216, 361.

Emperor Shahjahan appointed twelve nobles to govern this province which also included Princes Aurangzeb, Dara Shikoh and Murad.[54]

During Aurangzeb's reign, ten governors were appointed from imperial headquarter to the *suba* Gujarat. Among them, important ones were Jaswant Singh who held this post twice (1659-62 and 1670-72) and Shuja'at Khan who served in Gujarat for 17 years in a single term (1685-1701). At the fag end of long reign of Aurangzeb, Prince A'zam was sent to hold the post of governorship of this important *suba*.[55]

Gujarat was one of the major provinces of the Mughal Empire. The transfer of a viceroy from a less important *suba* to Gujarat was distinctly treated as 'promotion' and on such an occasion usually his rank was also raised. Numerous instances in this regard can be cited. In 1576, Abdu-r Rahim Khan-i Khanan was raised to the *mansab* of 4000 and appointed Governor of Gujarat in place of Mirza Aziz Koka who had disobeyed imperial orders in connection with the application of *dagh* regulations.[56] Shahabuddin Khan was promoted from Malwa to the viceroyalty of Gujarat in 1577 and his *mansab* had been raised only a year before.[57]

In 1630-31, Islam Khan was shifted from Akbarabad to Gujarat. On this occasion, he was given an increase in his *mansab* of 1000 thus becoming a

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54 *Mir'at*, I, p.100; Also see Athar Ali , 'Provincial Governors Under Shahjahan, An Analysis' in *MedievalIndia- A Miscellany*, Aligarh, III,1975, pp.80-112.

55 *Mir'at*, I, p.100; Also see Athar Ali, *Mughal India, Studies in Polity, Ideas, Society and Culture*, Delhi, 2006, pp.262-304 (Chapter 23, 'Provincial Governors Under Aurangzeb: An Analysis').

56 *Akbarnama*, III, pp.165-66.

57 Shah Nawaz Khan, *Ma'asiru-l 'Umara*, ed. Abdur Rahim and Ashraf Ali, Bib. Ind. 3 vols.Calcutta,1888-91,II,p.569.

holder of 5000*zat* and 4000 *sawar*. Out of 4000 *sawar*, 2000 *sawar* were made *do-aspah sih aspah*.[58]

In 1662-63, Mahabat Khan was made *subadar* of Gujarat in place of Maharaja Jaswant Singh and promoted to the rank of 6000.[59] In 1706, Ibrahim Khan was shifted from Kashmir to take charge of viceroyalty of Gujarat at the departure of Prince A'zam from Gujarat. At this point, Ibrahim Khan got an increment of 1000 thus becoming a *mansabdar* of 6000.[60]

There was an exception to this trend as well. Muhammad Amin Khan, son of the famous Mir Jumla, was one of the important *umaras* at the Mughal Court during Aurangzeb's reign. In 1672, he was appointed as governor of Gujarat. But his appointment to Gujarat was not a promotion but a demotion. He was in charge of Kabul before this appointment and had suffered a terrible disaster at the hands of Afridis when his army was annihilated in the Khyber Pass beyond Jamrud on its way to Kabul.[61] As a result of this, he was transferred to peaceful Gujarat and degraded from a rank of 6000 to 5000. He was also ordered to go to his post without being granted an interview.[62]

Sometimes, the one who was appointed governor administered the *suba* through a *na'ib* (deputy) with the approval of the emperor while he (governor-designate) himself remained behind either in attendance or being on a campaign, in obedience to the Emperor's orders, or sometime for personal reasons through the indulgence of the emperor, and a deputy was appointed to

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58 Lahori, I, p. 369; *Mirat*, I, 207.
59 *Ma'asir-i 'Alamgiri*, p.41.
60 *Ibid.* p .497.
61 *Ibid,* pp.117-18.
62 *Ibid.*,p. 121.

act in his place during his absence. In 1592-93, Sultan Murad, son of Emperor Akbar was entrusted with the governorship of Gujarat. After two years, in 1594-95, he proceeded to Deccan to lead Mughal campaign in that direction. For Gujarat affairs, Raja Suraj Singh was appointed as his agent. In 1596-97, Raja Suraj Singh took field against the rebellious Bahadur, son of deposed last Gujarat Sultan Muzaffar.[63]

After the death of Sultan Murad in 1600, Khan-i A‘zam Mirza Aziz Koka took charge of Gujarat for the third time. But he remained at Court and his son Shamsuddin Husain managed the governance of Gujarat as his *na'ib*.[64]

In 1609, Murtaza Khan was removed from the governorship of Gujarat on the complaints of oppression committed by his relatives. Khan-i A‘zam was appointed to take his place. But it was settled that the governor-designate should attend at court, and that his eldest son Jahangir Quli Khan should go to Gujarat as his deputy. The rank of Jahangir Quli Khan was fixed at 3000 *zat* and 2,500 *sawar*. An order was given that in company with Mohan Das *diwan* and Masud Beg Hamazani *bakshi* he should carry on the business of the province.[65] In 1618, Jahangir appointed Shahjahan as in charge of Gujarat *suba* which was also in his *jagir*. He remained nominally *subadar* of Gujarat from 1622-23, as its administration was carried out successively by his trusted officers Rustam Khan (1618-22) and Raja Bikramajit (1622-23) as his deputies.[66] In 1632-33, Baqir Khan sent his son to take charge of Gujarat of which he was appointed viceroy.[67]

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63 *Akbarnama*, III, p.639; *Mir'at*, I, pp.182-83.

64 *Mir'at*, I, pp.183-184.

65 *Tuzuk*, p. 73; *Mir'at*, I, 188-189.

66 *Ibid.*, pp.211, 216, 361.

67 Peter Mundy, *Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia*, ed .Sir R.C.Temple, London, 1914, II, p. 235.

In 1648-49, Dara Shikoh was appointed as governor of Gujarat, on the removal of Shaista Khan. Dara sent his trustee servant Baqir to take charge of Gujarat. He was given title of Ghairat Khan and an increment in his *mansab* on this occasion. [68]

Mirza Abdu-r Rahim Khan-i Khanan was appointed viceroy of Gujarat in 1575. As he was quite young and inexperienced, a committee of four nobles was sent to assist him. These were Wazir Khan as *ataliq* and 3 others were Saiyyid Muzaffar, as *bakshi*, Biyak Das as *diwan* and Mir Ala-ud-daula as *amin*.[69]

In the 1586 when I'timad Khan Gujarati was given the governorship of Gujarat, Mir Turab Wali was appointed *amin*.[70] Mir Abu Turab Wali's office of *amin* was meant to be probably that of a trustee and counsel, because I'timad Khan was appointed out of consideration for his earnest desire which the Emperor had hesitated to fulfill so long owing to his lack confidence in I'timad Khan's capacity and perhaps loyalty as well. In the circumstances, an *amin* was perhaps thought necessary both as a check and a help.[71]

But the administrative efficiency was not let to suffer. The *ataliq* who was also supposed to act as deputy governor was held fully responsible for

68 *Mir'at*, I, 223-224.

69 *Akbarnama*, III,pp.165-166; *Mir'at*, I, 133.

70 *Ibid.,* III, p.403.

71 *Ibid.*, III, p.403; P.Saran, pp.171-72.In initial years, *amin* was occasionally appointed in Gujarat (in 1576-77 and 1583-84). But this officer does not appear on the list of officers said to have been appointed to every province in 1580. No statement is made anywhere in Abu-l Fazl defining the jurisdiction and functions of this officer. According to P.Saran, in the first instance, the word *amin* was for *sadr* and in case, this office was meant to be probably of a trustee and counsel.(P.Saran, *op.cit*. pp.171-172.) According to I.Habib, the *amin* was to see whether any of the *jagirdars* or local officials were exacting more than the sanctioned rates from the peasants or not. In case of exaction, his duty was to bring matter in notice of higher authorities. *Agrarian System*, pp.338-339).

any maladministration or inefficiency. The moment he was found incapable or guilty of deliberate neglect of duty he was removed from office. In 1576-77, as soon as it came to be known that Wazir Khan, *ataliq* of Mirza Abdu-r Rahim Khan-i Khanan had thrown the administration of Gujarat into a state of chaos, not only was he degraded to the charge of Idar, but the whole of his staff was recalled. In place of Abdu-r Rahim Khan-i Khanan, Shihabuddin Khan was appointed as new governor of Gujarat.[72]

In 1598, Sadiq Khan and then Mirza Yusuf were *ataliq* of Prince Murad, when he was governor of Gujarat (1592-1601).[73]

During Jahangir's reign, when Dawar Bakhsh, son of Khusrau was appointed as governor of Gujarat in 1623 after Khurram's rebellion, Khan-i A'zam, was sent with him as his *ataliq* (tutor),[74] for the latter had experience of governing this province a number of times before this responsibility.[75]

The office of Governor of Gujarat, sometimes, happened to be vacant as a result of transfer or death of Governor or due to some other reason. But this office was too important and crucial to be left vacant. Some able officer was directed to hold charge and carry on administration till the appointment and arrival of permanent in charge.

In 1636, after the transfer of Saif Khan from the *subadari* of Gujarat, the new appointee had not arrived. For this interim period, Khwaja Jahan, *diwan* of *suba* was in charge of the *suba* administration.[76]

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72 *Ibid.*, pp.217-18; *Mir'at*, I, p.137-38.

73 *Akbarnama*, III,p.724.

74 *Tuzuk*, p.361; *Mir'at*, I, p.197.

75 For earlier appointments of Khan-i A'zam, see *Akbarnama*, III, pp.64, 571,806; *Tuzuk*, p.73; *Mir'at*, I, pp.119,170,183,189.

76 *The English Factories in India* , 1618-69, ed. W. Foster, 13 vols. Oxford, 1906-27 (henceforth *EFI*), *EFI* 1634-36,pp.261-62.

In 1661, Raja Jaswant Singh, the governor of Gujarat received orders to proceed with his army to help Shaista Khan, who was carrying on operations against Shivaji in the Deccan, and Qutbuddin Khan, *faujdar* of Sorath was instructed to take charge of the province till the Raja's successor was appointed.[77]

After Amin Khan's death in 1672, the *nazim* of Gujarat, Shahwardi Khan, one of the officials of *suba* was made in charge of the province till the new appointment to the vacant post.[78]

During Aurangzeb's reign, Shuja'at Khan, the governor of Gujarat, had additional charge of Marwar. He used to devote 6 months alternately to manage the administration of both the places. In his absence from Ahmadabad, his personal *diwan* Bihari Das in consultation with *diwan* and *qazi* of the *suba* carried out the administration of Gujarat province.[79]

After Prince A'zam's departure (who was governor of Gujarat from 1701 to 1705 AD) from Ahmadabad in 1705, *diwan* of the *suba*, Abdul Hamid Khan officiated as *na'ib nazim* till the arrival of new appointee.[80]

Mirza Aziz Koka was the first *subadar* of the Gujarat to be appointed from the imperial head quarter. In 1576, he disobeyed imperial order in connections with the application of branding (*Dagh*) regulations. For this offence, he was dismissed from the governorship of Gujarat and Abdu-r Rahim was appointed governor of Gujarat. [81]

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77 Muhammad Kazim, '*Alamgirnama*,Bib.Ind., Calcutta, 1868, II,p.647
78 *Mir'at*, I, p.302.
79 *Mir'at*,I, p.324.
80 *Mir'at*, I, p.358.
81 *Akbarnama*, III, 147, 165-6.

In a *farman* to governor of Gujarat, *nazim* was instructed that he should be careful about his relatives and servants so that they may not harass any one on account of relationship.[82] In 1608, when Emperor Jahangir was informed for the second time that the Murtaza Khan, the governor of Gujarat had failed to restrain his relations from committing oppressions on the people, he ordered his transfer and appointed another person as governor of Gujarat.[83]

In 1616, ‘Abdullah Khan Bahadur Firoz Jang, the governor of Gujarat quarreled with the *bakhshi* of the *suba*, ‘Abid Khan. The ground of the quarrel was the fact that the *bakhshi* had recorded and sent to the court the account of certain events that were unpleasing to the governor. The governor sent a body of men against the *bakhshi* and insulted him by carrying him away to his house. Jahangir took the matter seriously and sent Dayanat Khan to inquire into the matter. The charge against him was being proved, ‘Abdullah Khan was dismissed from governorship and Muqarrab was appointed in his place. [84]

In 1617, Muqarrab Khan was recalled from the governorship of Gujarat as he failed to perform administrative duties and military service efficiently.[85]

During Shahjahan’s reign, A‘zam Khan’s tenure as governor of Gujarat (1636-42) was unsympathetic and oppressive to common people. But he was a powerful noble and related to Prince Shah Shuja, that’s why no one dared to utter a word of complaint against him. Ultimately through Saiyid Jalal Bukhari, true conditions of affair were placed before the Emperor. The

82 *Mir’at*, I,p.168.
83 *Tuzuk*, p.73.S
84 *Ibid.*, pp.161-162.
85 Lahori, I, p.159; *Mir’at*, I, p.161.

Emperor decided to recall A'zam Khan and to appoint in his place Mirza Isa Tarkhan, the *faujdar* at Sorath.[86]

In 1648-49, Shaista Khan was unable to control the disturbances of Kolis and other elements, in spite of the fact he hold the *mansab* of 5000 *sawar* out of which 1000 *sawars* were *do-aspah sih aspah*. In addition to this, he took Rs 5 lakh annually from imperial treasury of Ahmadabad for maintaining 3000 *sawar* as *Sahbandis*. Despite this he was unable to control Kolis. In this regard, recurrent petitions were sent by Shaista Khan himself to affect his transfer from there. As a result of this, he was removed and Dara Shikoh was appointed in his place.[87]

In the first year of Aurangzeb's reign, Shah Nawaz, the governor of Gujarat (1658-59) and father-in law of Aurangzeb handed over Ahmadabad to Dara with out any resistance. Aurangzeb ordered Daler Khan to inflict death punishment upon the old man. After Dara's defeat in the battle of Ajmer, when Shah Nawaz was sitting in a carpet spread under the trees, a little distant from the battle field**,** Daler Khan hastened his elephant's pace towards that side and killed the old man 'impiously and cruelly by repeated arrow-shots.'[88]

Sometimes, Governors used to be involved in corrupt practices and committing oppression on the people. From Gujarat, a number of instances can be cited in this regard.

A letter of March 1620 has given details about the amounts of bribe to be paid to the governor of Gujarat and other state officials. In lieu of these

86 *Mir'at*, I, pp.215-16.

87 *Ibid.* I, pp.223-24.

88 Manucci,I,pp.326-327.

bribes, the English would have their coral released and gain the liberty to buy and sell at their discretion.[89]

Peter Mundy complained about the tyranny of the Governor of Ahmadabad who exacted a sum of Rs 4,000/- from English Factors.[90]

In March 1636, the governor of Gujarat forced the Dutch to pay Rs 5,000/-. His covetousness made him a object of great hatred there.[91]

A‘zam Khan the governor of Gujarat in about 1639 was so rigorous that his administration inclined towards cruelty. He put to death some dancing girls who refused to come to his palace in obedience to his summons.[92] During his tenure, peasants also suffered great oppression and “most of them fled and took refuge with the *zamindars* in distant places.”[93]

In 1670, when Bahadur Khan, governor of Gujarat went to Surat to defend it from Shivaji’s expected attack, extracted presents worth of Rs 4,000, 15,000 and 1,500 respectively from Dutch, French and English Factors, which was termed by them as ‘Civil kind of Plunder’.[94]

Prince Murad Bakhsh, while governor of Gujarat during the last years of Shahjahan’s reign, oppressed the *banjaras* to such an extent that they gave up their trade in saltpeter. [95]

In 1682 famine and scarcity prevailed in Gujarat and there was a popular riot against the governor Amin Khan at Ahmadabad over the high

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89 *EFI* 1618-21, p.187.
90 Peter Mundy, II, p.300.
91 *EFI* 1634-36,p.244.
92 Mandelslo, pp.38-40.
93 *Mir’at*, I,p.216.
94 *EFI* (*NS*) 1670-77, I, pp.189-90.
95 *EFI* 1655-60,pp.75, 121.

grain prices. The people accused the governor of indifference to the terrible misery that had befallen them.[96]

At times, Governors also indulged themselves in works of public welfare and charity. In 1637, a handsome *serai* (inn) with architectural beauty of its own was built by A‘zam Khan near Bhadra citadel in Ahmadabad. [97] In 1674, the sum of 1,580 rupees was sanctioned for repairs to the college, the masjid and the hospital constructed by Nawab Saif Khan, the *subadar* of the province during the reign of Jahangir. [98]

In 1684, at the request of the *nazim* of Gujarat province, Emperor Aurangzeb issued an order that for a muslim prisoner, who had no rich relatives one *asar* wheat flour and for the burial of a deceased prisoner two sheets and five *muradi tankas* be given from *baitul mal*(special Islamic treasury) funds.[99]

The author of *Hidayatu-l Qawa'id* says that the *jagir* of the *nazim* or governor should consist in the fourth part of *zor-talab,* i.e. seditious *mahals*, and, for the rest of medium *mahals*.[100] In compliance to this instruction, *parganas* Kamrej and Santalpur Kadi in *sarkar* Patan, *zor-talab* areas inhabited by Kolis were used to be granted as conditional *jagir* to the *nazim* of the *suba*.[101]Likewise, *pargana* Viramgoan (Jhalawar), a place full of seditious elements, in *sarkar* Ahmadabad was granted, sometimes, in *jagir* to governor of the Gujarat.

96 *Mir'at*,I, pp.300-301; *EFI*(*NS*), 1678-84,p. 277.
97 *Ibid.*, I, p.212.
98 *Ibid*.,I,p.292.
99 *Ibid*.,I, p.305.
100 *Hidayatu-l Qawa‘id*, f.3b.
101 *Mir'at*, supplt. p.203.

But, *nazims* were also granted *jagirs* in easily manageable areas as well. When Khan-i A‘zam Aziz Koka was appointed as the first governor of Gujarat, he was granted *balda-i Ahmadabad*, *pargana* Haveli , *pargana* Petlad in *sarkar* Ahmadabad with other some other *parganas* in *jagir*.[102] *Pargana* Dhanduka in *sarkar* Ahmadabad, a peaceful area, was a conditional *jagir* of *nazim*.[103] In 1672 when Muhammad Amin Khan was appointed *subadar* of Gujarat, the *jagir* of *sarkar* Patan and Viramgoan, which was attached to the post, was granted to him as *mashrut.*[104] From *Akhbarat*, it appears that Prince A‘zam had *parganas* Petlad, (a high yielding area) and Shahjahanpur (both in *sarkar* Ahmadabad), and port of Broach in his *jagir*. [105] Besides this, he was granted *pargana* Idar and *sarkar* Sorath in *jagir*.[106] Besides territorial *mahals, nazims* of the *suba* were also granted in *jagir*, *mahals* of urban taxes known as *sa'ir*. Usually, the income from the markets of Ahmadabad and Patan were granted in *jagir* to the governor of Gujarat.[107] Governor Bahadur Khan had *mahal-i sa'ir-i balda-i Ahmadabad* in his *jagir* which was on his transfer in 1670-71 reverted back to *khalsa*.[108] In 1696-97, *nazim* Shuja‘at Khan complaint about loss to his income from *sa'ir-i balda-i Ahmadabad* which was in his *jagir* due to the sale of grains in new *puras* established by some people.[109]

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102 *Mir'at*, I,p.119.
103 *Ibid*, suppllt.p.195.
104 *Mir'at*, I, p. 289.
105 *Akhbarat* A, 128,139,175.
106 *Mir'at*, I, pp.306-307,351.
107 *Ibid.*, I, pp.291-92,329; *Mir'at*, supplt.pp.181-183.
108 *Ibid.*, I, p.276.
109 *Ibid* ., p.337.

Governors (*hakim*/*nazim*/*subadar*) appointed for Gujarat

(AD 1573-1707)

Governors	Period	Source
-Aziz Koka, Khan-i Azam	1572-73	*Akbarnama*,III,p.8
-I'timad Khan	1573-74	*Akbarnama*,III,p.63
-Aziz Koka, Khan-i A'zam	1574-75	*Akbarnama*,, III, p.111.
-Mirza Khan (Wazir Khan as *ataliq*)	1575-77	*Akbarnama*,III,p.166, 217-18
-Shihabuddin Khan	1578-82	*Akbarnama*, III, pp.217, 403.
-I'timad Khan	1583-84	*Akbarnama*, III, pp.403, 430.
-Mirza Khan,Khan-i Khanan (Mirza Khan & Qulij Khan as Joint *Subadar* 1585-86)	1584-89	*Akbarnama*, III, p.430, 511,571.
-Aziz Koka ,Khan-i A'zam	1589-92	*Akbarnama*, III, pp.571, 639.
-Sultan Murad (Sadiq Khan and after his death Mirza Yusuf were appointed as *ataliq* of Prince)	1592-1601	*Akbarnama*, III, pp.639; 724; *Mir'at*, I, pp.182-83.
-Aziz Koka ,Khan-i Azam	1601-1604	*Akbarnama*, III, p.620 ; *Mir'at*, I, pp.183-184.
-Qulij Khan	1605-06	*Tuzuk*, p.9; *Iqbalnama-i Jahangiri*,[110] p.7.
-Raja Bikaramjit	1606	*Tuzuk*, p.23.
-Murtaza Khan	1606-09	*Iqbalnama-i Jahangiri*, p.19; *Tuzuk*, p.73.
-Aziz Koka ,Khan-i A'zam(Jahangir Quli Khan s/o Aziz Koka officiated as deputy *subadar*)	1609-1612	*Tuzuk*, pp.73, 97.
-Abdullah Khan	1612-1616	*Tuzuk*, p.97; Roe,[111] p.242.

110 Mu 'tamad Khan, *Iqbalnama-i Jahangiri*, ed. Abd Al –Haii and Ahmad Ali, Bib.Ind. Calcutta, 1865.

111 *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, 1615-19, ed. W.Foster, London, 1926.

-Muqarrab Khan	1617	Roe, p.424.
-Prince Khurram (through Rustam Khan and Raja Bikaramajit)	1617-1622	*Tuzuk*, pp.195, 370; *EFI* 1618-21, p.320; *EFI* 1622-23, pp.87, 162.
-Dawar Bakhsh (Mirza Aziz Koka, Khan-i A'zam as *ataliq*)	1623-24	*Tuzuk*, pp.361, 395; *EFI* 1622-23, p.162.
-Khan-i Jahan Lodi	1624-27	*Tuzuk*, p.395.
-Safi Saif Khan	1627-28	*EFI* 1622-23, p.299; *EFI* 1624-29, p.30; Lahori, I, pp.76.
-Sher Khan	1628-31	Lahori, I, pp.76, 368.
-Islam Khan	1631-32	Lahori, I, pp.368, 451.
-Baqir Khan Najm-i Sani	1632-33	Lahori, I, pp. 450, I (b), 8.
-Sipahdar Khan	1633-35	Lahori, I (b), pp.7, 8, 102.
-Saif Khan	1635-36	Lahori, I (b), pp.102, 166.
-A'zam Khan	1636-42	Lahori, I (b), p.166; II, p.290; *EFI* 1637-41, p. XII.
- Mirza Isa Tarkhan	1642-45	Lahori, II, pp.290, 377.
- Aurangzeb	1645-46	Lahori, II, pp.411,583; *EFI* 1646-50, p. IX
- Shaista Khan	1646-48	Lahori, II, pp.583; Waris 46 (b)[112] cf.Athar Ali, *Apparatus*, p.232; *Mir'at*, I, pp.221, 223-24.
-Dara Shukoh (Baqi Beg Ghairat Khan officiated as Deputy *subadar*)	1646-52	Waris 46 (b), 142(a) cf.Athar Ali, *Apparatus*,pp.232,267 ;*EFI* 1651-54, p.8; *Mir'at* ,I, pp.223,226.
-Shaista Khan	1652-54	Waris 142 (b), 179 (b) cf. Athar Ali, *Apparatus*,pp.267,279;*EFI* 1651-54, p.251; *Mir'at* ,I, pp.226,231.

112 Muhammad Waris, *Padshahnama*, transcript of Raza Library, MS. of Rampur, (Transcript nos.86 &87) in Centre of Advanced Study in History, AMU.

-Murad Bakhsh	1654-58	Waris 179 (a) cf. Athar Ali, *Apparatus*,p.279 ; *EFI* 1651-54, p.251; *Mir'at* ,I, pp.231,236.
Shah Nawaz Khan Safvi	1658-59	*'Alamgirnama*, I, pp.21, 296; *Mir'at*, I, p.241.
Jaswant Singh	1659-62	*'Alamgirnama*, I, pp.332, 346; II, 647,754; *Mir'at*, I, pp.244, 253.
Qutbuddin Khan	1662	*'Alamgirnama*,II, pp.768-69
Mahabat Khan	1662-67	*'Alamgirnama*, II, pp.737, 754, 1056; *Ma'asir-i 'Alamgiri*, *p.41; Mir'at*, I, pp.253-66.
Bahadur Khan Koka	1667-70	*'Alamgirnama*, II, 1056; *Mir'at*, I, pp.267-76.
Jaswant Singh	1670-72	*Mir'at*, I, pp.276, 288; *Ma'asir-i 'Alamgiri*, pp.121, 182,216,219.
Muhammad Amin Khan	1672-82	*Mir'at*, I, pp.289-303.
Mukhtar Khan Mir Shamsuddin	1682-84	*Ma'asir-i 'Alamgiri*, pp.219-20,247; *Mir'at*, I, pp.303-10.
Shuja'at Khan	1685-1701	*Mir'at*, I, 311-45; *Ma'asir-i 'Alamgiri*, pp.383, 395,441.
Prince A'zam Khan	1701-1705	*Ma'asir-i 'Alamgiri*, pp.397, 442,473,512; *Mir'at*, I, 346-50.
Ibrahim Khan	1706-1707	*Mir'at*, I, 369; *Ma'asir-i 'Alamgiri*, pp.497, 512.

Chapter IV

City Administration : Ahmadabad

CITY ADMINISTRATION: AHMADABAD

Under the Mughals Ahmadabad, capital of Gujarat was a major city of the Empire. All foreign visitors, whether English, German, Venetian visited it found it large, populous and prosperous.[1] J. Albert de Mandelslo, the German who visited Ahmadabad in October AD 1638 described the city and its suburbs as occupying some twenty [square?] miles, with broad streets and magnificent public and private buildings.[2]

The city had a strong fortification wall built during the Sultanate period pierced by twelve gates.[3] Within this enclosing wall, situated the citadel known as Bhadra on the western side and was entered by a very big gate.[4] It was the official residence of the *nazim* (Governor) of *suba.*[5] In front of its gate, situated the main market of the city known as *maidan-i-shah* or royal Place.[6] It was also called the *bazaar-i-kalan*, which was full of shops of various trades. Besides this *maidan,* there were in the city four other large bazaars.[7] In all, Ahmadabad contained eighty bazaars or streets. A large number of them were big, while others were along short and narrow lanes, with no openings into the main bazaars.[8] From the names of streets, it appears that there were many *serais* in the city including one built by A'zam Khan (*nazim* of Gujarat AD 1636-42) near the entrance of Bhadra citadel.[9]

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1 W.Foster, *The Journal of John Jourdain*, Cambridge, 1905, p.171;Mandelslo, p.26;
2 Mandelslo,, p.26.
3 *Mir'at*, supplt. pp.2-3; Mandelslo, p.23.
4 *Ibid*.,p.5.
5 *Mir'at*, I, p.276.
6 Mandelslo, p.22.
7 *A History of Gujarat*,II, p.336.
8 *Mir'a*t,supplt. pp.8-9.
9 *Ibid*; *A History of Gujarat*, II, p.336

From administrative point of view, Ahmadabad was most ‘carefully kept city’.[10] The *kotwal* of the city occupied a pivotal position in the local administration.[11] He was appointed from the head quarters, i.e. by the imperial government, on the recommendation of the imperial commander of artillery (*mir-i-atash*).[12] After Aurangzeb, the *kotwal* was sometimes appointed by the *nazim* of the *suba*.[13] The study of *Akhbarat* of Prince A‘zam’s headquarters shows the presence of two *kotwals* for the administration of city, viz. the *kotwal-i-balda* (or *shahr*) and other was *kotwal-i-laskar*,the former administering the City, the latter the Military Encampment.[14] In 1702-03, when Prince A’zam was *nazim* of Gujarat, Syed Abdul Qadir held the post of *kotwal-i-balda* and Rustam Baig was *kotwal-i-lashkar*.[15] On the transfer of Syed Adbul Qadir, Mir Shah Ali Baig was appointed as *kotwal-i-balda*.[16]

Besides, utilizing hundred infantry attached to the *Nazim* of the *suba* for that purpose, *kotwal-i-balda* was assigned a personnel contingent of fifty horsemen.[17] In 1696, when Khawaja Qutbuddin was appointed *kotwal* of the city, one hundred footmen on a monthly salary of Rs. 270/- which after deduction came to Rs. 190/- were ordered to be kept with him in addition to the royal force of *nazim* of *suba* 22 horsemen and 50 footmen which were with the dismissed *kotwal* Mir Atiqullah.[18] In 1702-03, *kotwal* Syed Abdul Qadir requested 50 infantry men for his help which were usually provided to

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10 Thevenot,pp.11-12.
11 de Jongh, *JIH*,IV,1925-26,63-83,p.75.
12 *Mir’at,* supplt.,p.178.
13 Ibid.
14 For *Kotwal-i balda* see *Akhbarat* A31, A32, A34, A45, A55, A72, A127, A192, A194, A213, A216.For *Kotwal-i lashkar* see A74,A112,A118,A129,A132,A220.
15 *Akhbarat* A34,A45,A55,A72,A74,A112,A127,A129,A132,A192,A194,A220,A231.
16 *Akhbarat* A192.
17 *Mir’at,* supplt. p.192.
18 *Mir’at,* I,p.334.

the *kotwal* by the *nazim*. His request was accepted and order was passed for its enforcement.[19] *Kotwal-i-balda* was also to present his contingent before branding and verification department for inspection.[20] *Kotwal-i-lashkar* was also provided with footmen (*piyadas*). He got his footmen replaced when they were involved in thefts.[21]

Two early documents, *Ain-i-kotwali*[22] in *Ain-i-Akbari* and Akbar's *farman* issued in AD 1595,[23] provide details of the obligations and powers which were officially assigned to *kotwal*. Watch and ward of the town and prevention of theft, murder and crimes was the primary duty of the *kotwal*. For police administration, the city of Ahmadabad was divided into seventeen *chaklas* (wards) and each of them contained a *chabutra* (custom station or platform where police officer used to sit), a posse of *guzarbanan* (custom cum road watchman) and a few *piyadas* (infantry men) appointed by the *kotwal* to serve as night watchman.[24] From *Akhbarat* it appears that both *kotwals* were responsible for the maintenance of law and order in the city.[25]

Care and legitimate disposal of heirless property was also officially assigned to the *kotwal*. In the performance of this duty, English factors had some bitter experiences at the hands of city *kotwal*.[26]

Another important function of the *kotwal* was to regulate the markets and to prevent rich people from hoarding the commodities.[27] In social sphere,

19 *Akhbarat* A, 127.
20 *Akhbarat* A, 34.
21 *Akhbarat* A, 112.
22 *A'in*, I, pp.284-85.
23 *Mir'at*, I, pp.168-170.
24 *Mir'at*, supplt. p.8; *The Provincial Government of the Mughals*,p.230.
25 *Akhbarat* A, 231.
26 *EFI* 1622-23 pp.124-25.
27 *A'in*, I, p.234; *Mir'at*, I, pp.168-70.

kotwal was a kind of a censor of morals preventing and checking abuses such as sale and use of intoxicants etc.[28] Regulation of the cemeteries, burials and slaughter houses also came under his jurisdiction. From *Akhbarat* we get information that *kotwal-i-lashkar* Rustam Baig was to check the cremation of dead bodies on the banks of Sabarmati River.[29]

The *kotwal* had also some magisterial powers. All the petty criminal cases were tried by him through a summary procedure.[30] In the *Akhbarat* , we find that *kotwal-i-lashkar* also disposed of petty criminal cases.[31] In disposition of serious criminal and civil cases, the *qazi* had much responsibility. But execution of judicial decisions was carried out by city *kotwal* and his subordinates.[32]

In Ahmadabad, taxes or *mahsul* collected from the betel-leaf market was attached to the *chabutra* (*kotwal*'s office).[33] From *Akhbarat* it appears that sometimes betel leaf market had no separate *darogha*, the city kotwal hold this additional responsibility.[34] In addition to the legal taxes and *jurmana* (fines) collected at the *chabutra-i-kotwali*, a large number of cesses used to be exacted in the town by the city *kotwal*. When carts loaded with grain or other articles were due to leave this city, his officials used to take Rs. 2 per cart load (*sar-i-araba*) at *chabutra-i-kotwali* under the name of *chhati*.[35] The other important cesses that he realised included *tarazu kashi* (a tax on stamping weights and measures), *Chungi gosht* (a share of meat) etc.[36]

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28 *Mir'at*, I, p.169.
29 *Akhbarat* A,74.
30 de Jongh p.76.
31 *Akhbarat* A, 129, 132.
32 de Jongh, p.81; *Akhbarat* A,31, 32, 55.
33 *Mir'at*, supplt. p.183.
34 *Akhbarat* A, 194.
35 *Mir'at,* I, p. 263; Manelslo, p. 28; de Jongh, p.75.
36 *Mir'at* ,I,,pp.262,287.

Another officer involved in the maintenance of law and order was *faujdar-i-gird.* His duty was to police the territory around the city of Ahmadabad.[37] In the *Akhbarat*, there are numerous references to this officer, his powers and functions.[38] As *faujdar* his main function was to ensure law and order and to prevent thefts and other crimes within his jurisdiction.[39] He was appointed by the *nazim* of *suba*.[40] For the performance of his duties he was mostly dependent on *sahbandis* (auxiliary forces).[41] He had control over police or watch stations called *nakas* (toll stations) and *chaukis* (guard posts) within his jurisdiction.[42] He was also responsible for the collection of *peshkash* from *zamindars* and revenue from *desais* of the area within his charge.[43] In *Akhbarat*, Amanullah Baig, *faujdar-i-gird* is found presenting submissive *zamindars* to Prince A'zam for state employment.[44] On quite a few occasions, Amanullah was questioned and given instruction to control the growing conditions of insecurity in Ahmadabad.[45] Sometimes, his men were involved in molesting people and exaction of cesses.[46]

Another important officer in the administration of city was *qazi* of the city. According to Dutch factor de Jongh, he was one of the three pillars of city administration, other two being *nazim* and *kotwal*.[47] Usually, chief *qazi* of the *suba* hold the additional responsibility of city *qazi* of the Ahmadabad.[48]

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37 *Mir'at*, supplt . p.169.
38 *Akhbarat*, A, 1 and passim.
39 *Akhbarat* A, 31, 32, 78,79, 80,117 ,146,228.
40 *Mir'at*, I, p.347; *Mir'at*, supplt. p.169.
41 *Ibid.* I,p .347; II,pp.87-88;*Akhbarat* A ,79, 80; *Mir'at*, supplt. p.169.
42 *Akhbarat* A, 77, 78; *Mir'at*, supplt. pp. 169-170.
43 *Akhbarat* A, 11,21,66,68,228.
44 *Akhbarat* A, 21, 66, 68, 228.
45 *Akhbarat* A, 69,80, 84.
46 *Akhbarat* A, 14,77,78,84.
47 de Jongh, p.75.
48 *Mir'at*, I, pp.297, 310,324-25; *Akhbarat* A, 28,33 and passim.

He was appointed by an imperial order at the recommendation of the chief *sadr* at the Imperial Court. Besides his personal *mansab* (zat) he had *sawar* rank of twenty.[49] Sometimes, *Nazim* was ordered to provide *sawars* to him.[50] The qaziship of Sarkhej, trusteeship of *baitul mal* and stewardship of the new converts belonged to him.[51] Sometimes the city *qazi* held more than one post. In 1672, Mohammad Sharif was both *qazi* and *muhtasib* of the city.[52]

The *qazi* of Ahmadabad had many wide judicial powers in his jurisdiction. All the serious criminal cases like of theft, murder, robbery, rebellion etc. were decided by him.[53] In civil cases, his jurisdiction was extended to inheritance, disposal of stolen property, marriage with non Muslims etc.[54] He was also the custodian of unclaimed property and had the responsibility for the return of such property to the genuine owner, if any.[55]

Qazi was also given responsibility to settle mercantile cases also, like that of merchants and weavers.[56] He was to see whether taxes on various commodities were collected according to rules or not,[57] besides dealing cases related to counterfeit coins and their circulation.[58]

When *jiziya* was reimposed in 1679 by Aurangzeb its collection was also assigned to the *qazi*.[59] But in *akhbarat*, Mohammad Akramuddin, *sadr* of city is referred as *Darogha-i-akhaz-i-jiziya* (superintendent for collecting

49 *Mir'at*,supplt. p.174.
50 *Mir'at*,I, p.291.
51 *Mir'at*, supplt. p.174.
52 *Mir'at*, I, p.291.
53 *Ibid.*,pp.277-283;*Akhbarat* A,14,117.
54 *Ibid.*,pp.277-283.
55 *Ibid.*,p.169.
56 *EFI*,1622-23, p.40.
57 *Mir'at*, I,pp.295-96.
58 *Ibid.*, pp.279-80.
59 *Ibid*. pp.295-96.

jiziya).[60] In religious sphere, monetary help was provided to new converts with his approval.[61] He was also to look after the proper collection of *zakat* (charity) from Muslims.[62]

The *qazi* was also involved in different kinds of charity work taken by the state. On his certificate, funeral rites of travellers, unclaimed corpses of poor man and other who die intestate were made, expenses of which were met with from the *baitul mal*.[63] In 1696, custody of *baitul mal*(special Islamic treasury) was put in charge of the *qazis* of respective provinces under a royal order. In consequence of this, custody of *baitul mal* of Ahmadabad was entrusted to Abul Farah Khan, *qazi* of the place.[64]From *baitul mal* clothes and blankets were provided to poor prisoners and people of the city.[65] The *qazi*'s staff at Ahmadabad included petty officials like *muftis*, *sakkak*, *munasakha-navis*, *mushrif* and *wakil-i-sharai*.[66]

Besides, city *qazi* an important official in the judicial set up of city was *darogha-i-adalat*. He was constantly in attendance at the provincial Governor's court. His duty was to present before the Governor the people who had come to seek redress.[67] There are repeated references to this officer in the *Akhbarat*.[68] The *Darogha-i-Adalat* Ghulam Mohammad was constantly presenting complaints of all sorts before *nazim*. After hearing complaints, necessary orders were issued in each case.[69]

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60 *Akhbarat* A, 22,191,198.
61 *Mir'at*, I,pp.295-96.
62 *Ibid*.,pp.295-299.
63 *Ibid*.,p.330.
64 *Ibid*.,p.338.
65 *Ibid*.,pp.338, 340.
66 *Mir'at*, supplt.p.74.
67 *Mir'at*, I, p.371; *Akhbarat* A,5 and passim.
68 *Akhbarat* A, 5 and passim.
69 *Akhbarat* A,5,12,18,29,113,115,116,117,118,119,125,143,220,226

The Dutch factor de Jongh, who served in Gujarat between 1623-32, after observing the administration of city made some serious criticism about the administration of city in general and judicial administration in particular.[70]It is difficult to assess from evidence how far his criticisms were justified.

In the early eighteenth century we for the first time encounter the *nagarsheth* as a functionary in the administrative set up of Ahmadabad city. Modern scholars have debated the status and role of this functionary.[71] They were apparently appointed and removed by the *nazim*.[72] They were required to collect taxes from the merchants of the city.[73] In 1725-26 the *nagarsheth* of Ahmadabad Khushal Chand Jauhari assisted the *nazim* in the realization of a cess called *beorah*, from the merchants and *sarrafs*.[74] His successor Sheth Ganga Das, was also actively involved in the collection of taxes on the behalf of state.[75]

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70 de Jongh,pp.75-83.

71 Shireen Mehta,' The *Mahajans* and the Business Communities of Ahmadabad' in Dwijendra Tripathi (ed.),*Business Communities of India-A Historical Perspective*, New Delhi,1984,pp.173-183;S.C.Mishra,'The Medieval Trader and his Social World', in Dwijendra Tripathi, (ed.),*Business Communities*,pp.41-57; Dwijendra Tripathi and Makrand Mehta,'The *Nagarsheth* of Ahmadabad- The History of an Urban Institution in a Gujarat City,' *PIHC*, 39th Session,(Hyderabad 1978),Aligarh 1979,pp.481-496;Ashin Das Gupta, *Indian Merchants and the Decline of Surat*,1700-40,Wiesbadan,1979,pp.13-14,86-88; and Ashin Das Gupta, '*Indian Merchants in the Age of Partnership*,1500-1800, *Business Communities ed.* in Dwijendra Tripathi, pp.27-39.

72 *Mir'at*,II,pp.136-137;Itimad Ali Khan,*Mir'at-ul Haqaiq*, Bodleian Library,Oxford, Fraser Collection,124,A Microfilm of it is at Centre of Advanced Study in History, AMU,(Microfilm no.127)ff.449b-450b.

73 *Mir'at-ulHaqaiq*,ff.330b,333b,334b.

74 *Ibid.*,ff.332a,346b,348b,374b,375a,443b.

75 *Mir'at*,II, pp.170,172.

Chapter V

Port Administration : Surat

PORT ADMINISTRATION: SURAT

Under the Mughals, Surat was the premier port of the empire. During the period of Gujarat Sultanate (1400-1572), Cambay was the main port of the Kingdom.[1] Surat came into prominence at the beginning of the seventeenth century, especially after the discovery of the Swally hole,[2] offering excellent anchorage facilities for large ships. Ashin Das Gupta and Shireen Moosvi have shown that the Mughal conquest of Gujarat played a crucial role in the rise of Surat in the seventeenth century, by causing an expansion of its hinterland towards the Indo-Gangetic plains.[3] A variety of commodities were exported from Surat. They included cotton textiles, indigo, saltpeter, spices etc., the first two being the most significant. To purchase these items, European Companies brought bullion in large quantities to India through Surat. That why the Mughal empire became one of the biggest importer of bullion outside Europe in seventeenth century. To curtail this outflow of bullion, European merchants ventured hard to create a market for European commodities at Surat. In this hope, they brought here copper, broadcloth, coral, lead, quicksilver, etc. to India.[4] The Mughals imported horses of Arabian breed from Middle East through Surat on a large scale.

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1 For a detailed study of the emergence of Surat, at the expense of Cambay, see Jawaid Akhtar, "Cambay Ports in the seventeenth century", paper presented at the Indian History Congress, 46th Amritsar session, 1985(Cyclostyled).

2 The Hole, situated just at the mouth of the Tapti river, was said to have been discovered by Henry Middleton: William Hawkins in *Early Travels in India* ed. W.Foster, London, 1927,p.96. For safer anchorage for Indian ships deep hallows were excavated in the channel of the Tapti river at Surat to receive ships: Godinho, tr. in *Journal of Bombay Branch of the Asiatic Soceity*, NS XXVII,II,1953,124.

3 *Indian Merchants and Decline of Surat*, p.3-4; Shireen Moosvi, The Gujarat Ports and their Hinterland – An Economic Relationship, in Indu Banga(ed.), *Ports and their Hinterlands in India* (1700-1950),New Delhi,1992,pp.121-9.

4 The quantity of this Silver Influx and its impact on Mughal economy especially on mintage of silver coins has been studied and debated by Aziza Hasan, Shireen Moosvi and Najaf Haider in their respective papers: Silver Currency Output of the Mughal Empire', *IESHR*, IV,1,1969,85-116'; 'SilverInflux,MoneySupply,Prices and Revenue Extraction in Mughal India', *JESHO*, XXX, 1, 1987, 47-94';Precious Metal Flows and Currency Circulation in the Mughal Empire', *JESHO*, XXXIX,3,1996,289-304.

As a result of overseas trade, the *suba* of Gujarat became the most urbanized area of the Mughal Empire.[5] At the turn of the seventeenth century, in Gujarat, Mughal administration was deriving a larger income from Gujarat, in comparison to other *subas*, from taxation on trade and commerce. It has been estimated by Shireen Moosvi that 18.65% of the total assessed revenue (*jama'*) in Gujarat came from trade and commerce. In *sarkar* Surat itself, the proportion was 29.75%.[6]

For administrative convenience, the port of Surat was constituted into a separate unit, forming sub-division of *suba* but practically independent of its authority. Thus, the *sarkar* of Surat comprising 31(fiscal unit) *mahals* including the *Bandar* (port and surrounding territories, was placed under the governor (*hakim*).[7] Broach, a small port and also a *sarkar* headquarter the *pargana havili* and *bandar* constituted two *mahals* of which the former belonged to the *faujdar* of the above *sarkar* while the latter was made a dependency of Surat and placed under supervision of that port.[8]

Not much information is forthcoming about the administration of Surat in the initial years of Mughal rule in the Gujarat. Immediately after its conquest, Muhammad Qulij was made *hakim* (governor) of Surat in 1572-73.[9] In 1578-79, he was promoted to the *subadari* of Gujarat.[10]For next decade, we have no information in the sources about the Governors of Surat. From 1590

5 *The Economy of the Mughal Empire*, p.315.

6 The Economy of Gujarat, c.1600: The A'in's Statistics, pp. 224-233.

7 *Mirat*,supplt.p.223;I.Habib,*Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, New Delhi,1982, p.23.

8 *Mir at* ,supplt. p.205.

9 Muhammad Arif Qandhari, *Tarikh-i Akbari* ed. Muinuddin Nadwi, Azhar Ali and Imtiaz Ali Arshi, Rampur, 1962; tr. Tasneem Ahmad, Delhi, 1993, p.172; Athar Ali, *The Apparatus of Empire: Awards of Ranks, Offices and Titles to the Mughal Nobility (1574-1658)*, Delhi, 1985, p.36.

10 Akbarnama, III,p.264; Athar Ali, *Apparatus*, p.7.

to 1594-95, a person called Muhammad Masum was *hakim* of Surat.[11] From second decade of the seventeenth century, we have information about Surat administration on a regular basis in both Persian as well as European sources. (See list of Governors appointed at Surat).

Under administrative structure as evolved under Mughals, governor (*mutasaddi*) was the chief executive officer at port city of Surat.[12]In Persian sources, in charge of Surat port was termed as *hakim, nazim* and *mutasaddi.*[13] But, the term *mutasaddi* for the governor of Surat became more popular with the time.[14] In the English records, this important officer was designated as Governor.[15] He used to be the high official appointed directly from the imperial court through a *sanad* of the *diwan-i ala.* [16]

Many considerations influenced the appointment of *mutasaddis* for Surat port. Jahangir appointed his favourite Muqarrab Khan on the pretext that he was an expert in procuring rarities and precious stones.[17]It was also desired that the man to be appointed should have perfect knowledge of judging the qualities of horses and jewels. For example, one Ali Akbar, a merchant from Isfahan settled at Cambay was appointed *mutasaddi* of Surat and Cambay as he had good knowledge of judging horses and jewels.[18] But

11 Ms.Blochet 482, *BN*, ff.131b,132a-b.

12 For initial study of *mutasaddi*'s powers and functions,see M.P.Singh,*Town,Market,Mint andPort in theMughalEmpire*,1556-1707,New Delhi,1985,pp.194-203. Also see S.A.N.Rezavi, The *Mutasaddis* of Surat in the Seventeenth Century, *PIHC*, Burdwan, 1983, Delhi, 1984, pp.214-222.

13 *Tuzuk*, ,p.125; Lahori,II, pp.116,234,607; '*Alamgirnama*, I, p.471.

14 Ms. Blochet 482 *BN* ff.49a-50a; *Akhbarat* A,98,99,

15 *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India 1615-19* ed. W.Foster, London,1926,pp.27,42,52,60, & passim; *EFI*,1618-21, p.150 & passim.

16 *Mirat*,supplt.,pp.194,222.

17 William Hawkins,in *Early Travels in India*, p.63.

18 Lahori, II, p. 607; *Mirat*,1, p.222.

the practice of farming out the office of *mutasaddi* brought many merchants to the helms of this office. It is not clear from our evidence when this practice began. It was perhaps in Jahangir's reign that office of *mutasaddi* came to be given out on contract. This allowed certain influential merchants such as Khwaja Nizam, Mirza Ishaq Beg and Ali Akbar Isfahani as also officials involved in mercantile activities such as Mir Musa (Muizzul Mulk) and Masih-uz Zaman (Hakim Sadra) got an opportunity to become the governor of the port. In 1619, Mirza Ishaq Beg obtained the office of the *mutasaddi* of Surat on farm, on expiry of the tenure in 1621 got himself reappointed as he promised to increase the revenue from the port by 2,00,000 *mahmudis*.[19]In 1639, Muiz-ul Mulk (Mir Musa) got charge of Surat on farm (*ijara*) upon giving two lakhs of rupees more than his predecessor (Masih-uz Zaman).[20]In 1640s, the practice of farming out the office of *mutasaddi* was abolished by Shahjahan who appointed that official directly from the imperial court.[21]This practice of farming out the office of *mutasaddi* was revived in the first half of the eighteenth century.[22]In 1719, *Amir ul Umara* Hasan Ali Khan got himself appointed the *mutasaddi* of Surat but farmed out the office to Shaikh-ul Islam, appointing him his deputy (*na'ib*), on the payment of ten lakhs rupees.[23] In 1724, the office of the *mutasaddi* of Surat was entrusted to Rustam Ali Khan, on farm, requiring him to pay ten lakhs rupees to the state.[24]

Sometimes, the port of Surat was also assigned in *jagir* to royal Princes. In 1626, Prince Parvez, second and eldest son, then living, of Shahjahan got

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19 *EFI*, 1618-21, pp.147, 150,281,320.

20 *EF I*,1637-41,pp.109-10; *Mir'at*, I,p.212.

21 *Ibid*, Introduction xxvii

22 *Mir'at-ul Haqaiq*, ff 149b, 186b,&269a.

23 *Ibid*, f 149a.

24 *Ibid*, f 269a.

port of Surat in *jagir*.[25] In 1643-44, Surat and its adjoining area was granted in *jagir* to Princess Jahan Ara.[26]

The office of *mutasaddi* could also be shared by two persons. This little known fact comes from a *farman* preserved in a collection of documents, mostly on Gujarat. From 1645 to 1645 the responsibility of the administration of Surat was jointly shared by two brothers, Mir Sharafuddin Husain and Mir Hashim.They were appointed on 29 July 1642 in place of Mirza Jam Quli Beg and the imperial *farman* referring to their appointment said that they resembled each other so much and were so close to each other that they were well as good as 'one person'. It was left to their discretion to 'either administer jointly (*paiswat*) or by other means.[27]

The *mutasaddi* or governor of Surat was occasionally the governor of Cambay, as well. Some of such governors were Muqarrab Khan (1608-10),[28] Mir Musa Muizzul Mulk (1629-36; 1639-41),[29] Mirza Ali Akbar Isfahani (1647),[30] Hafiz Muhammad Nasir (1649-56),[31] Inayat Khan (1663-64)[32] and Amanat Khan (1705-11)[33].

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25 *EFI* 1624-29 pp.152,157.

26 Lahori, II, pp.396-97; *Mir'at*, I, p.219.

27 *Ibid*, f 49a.

28 F.C. Danvers and W. Foster (eds.) *Letters Received by the East India Company from its servants in the East, London, 1869-1902*, I, pp.23-24,26,33.

29 *Mir'at*, I, pp.208,212; *EFI* 1624-29,pp.195,335; *EFI* 1637-41, pp.123,207.

30 *EFI*, 1646-50, p.196; *Mir'at*, I, pp.221-22.

31 *Mir'at*, I, pp.229-30,239.

32 *Ibid.*, I, p.256.

33 *Ibid.*, I, p.358.

Sometimes, *mutasaddis* administered their place of posting through deputies (*na'ibs*).When Inayat Khan was appointed governor of Surat and Cambay in 1663; he governed both places through his deputies.[34]

In port administration of Surat, the chief officer *mutasaddi* was vested with wide powers and obligations. In the source, mentioned above, we have one *farman* addressed to Mir Hashim and Mir Sharafuddin Hussain, the joint imperial appointees as *mutasaddi* of Surat.[35]From this *farman*, an idea of *mutasaddi*'s wide powers and obligations can be formed. The *mutasaddi* had two primary function/ task to perform – to collect revenues from the port and adjoining areas and to provide safety and defense to port. For defense, he used to maintain military contingents and use them in the defense of his port town.[36] Thus when Shivaji plundered the port of Surat in 1664, Inayat Khan, the *mutasaddi* of Surat was ordered to build a fort.[37] The *mutasaddi* also used to patrol the coastal areas and was expected to keep a vigilant eye on the sea up to two leagues beyond the harbour, which lay within his jurisdiction.[38]In this regard, *Mir'at-ul Haqaiq* informs us that from the last years of Aurangzeb, *mutasaddi* of Surat used to get Rs 15,800 monthly from the imperial treasury, Rs 13,000 for tackling the menace of Marathas and Rs 2800 for patrolling the high seas.[39]According to the *Mir'at*, the *mutasaddi* at Surat, besides the above office, also held the office of the *faujdar* and *thanadar* of the environs of the port.[40]Therefore, he was also responsible for the

34 *Mirat-ul Haqaiq*, f 74a

35 Ms.Blochet 482, *BN*, ff 48b-50a.

36 *Mir'at*, I,p. 361; *Letter received* I, p 150;II,p.261;Hawkins, *Early Travels*,p.71.

37 *Mir'at*, I, p.256.

38 *Mir'at-ul Haqaiq*, f. 101a.

39 *bid.*

40 For *mutasaddigiri* and *faujdari* of Surat both held by one man, see *Mirat*, I, pp.229,234,312.

maintenance of security and safety on the highways leading to the port.[41]In 1636, *mutasaddi* of Surat Masih-uz Zaman issued a *parwana* to induce merchants to Surat by promising more watchmen and wards (*thanas*) on the routes for the safety of merchants.[42]

The *mutasaddi* of Surat was also responsible for the collection of different types of taxes in the port city. The *farman*, quoted above, specifies the cesses that the mutasaddi were to realize. They were: *ushur*(cess) from the city(*shahr*) and *qasbas*, *naul* on ships, profits(*munafa*) from the custom house(*furza*) and cesses(*hasil*) from the mint(*darul zarb*),the grain market(*mandi*), the *kotwali* and 'all other *sair mahal* in the imperial *khalsa*(i.e. port).For realizing these taxes, he was to consult and take help of other officials like *diwan*(finance officer of Surat) and *mutasaddis*(clerks) and collect taxes in accordance with the rules.[43]According to *Mirat-ul Haqaiq*, *Sair mahal* of Surat(trade taxes) included *khushkimandi*(land transit checkpost), *furza*(customhouse),*darul zarb*(mint),*ghalla mandi*(grain market),*namaksar*(salt pans),*marammat jahazat*(shipbuilding and repairing) and *furza-i* Broach(custom house of Broach).[44]So *mutasaddi* of Surat had additional duty to look after the collection of customs at Broach.[45]The *mutasaddi* of Surat was also responsible for the collection of land revenue of the *parganas* around port which were used to be under his jurisdiction. In the *farman*, the *mutasaddi*, brothers Mir Sharafuddin Husain and Mir Hashim, were instructed to assess the revenues (*jama'*) to be realized from the

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41 Inayatullah Khan Kashmiri, *Kalimat-i-Taiyibat*, ed. Azizuddin Husain,Delhi,1982, ff.25a-b.
42 Ms Blochet,482, *BN*, ff. 139a-140a.
43 Ibid., ff 49a-50a
44 *Mir'at-ul Haqaiq*, ff.99a
45 *Ibid*; *EFI*, 1634-36, p.184.

parganas in agreement with the *diwan* and the *karoris*. In fixing the *jama‘*, they should keep in view considerations of “extension of cultivation” and “contentment of peasants”.[46]The *farman* gave *mutasaddi* the right to dismiss the corrupt and disobedient *karoris*(revenue collectors) and appoint others in their place. This does suggest that the port governor enjoyed from the imperial court at least a limited right to appoint and dismiss lower officials.[47]

It was also the responsibility of the governor (*mutasaddi*) to suppress the rebellious *zamindars*, the *farman* orders the Mir brothers to get the peasants (*ra‘iyat*) relieved from the oppressions of the rebels (*mufsidan*).[48]Further, *Mir’at* informs us, that collection of *peshkash* from the chief of Ramnagar was also assigned to the *mutasaddi* of Surat.[49]In 1638, its ruler Som Dev Bhirji presented himself before Hakim Masihuz Zaman,*mutasaddi* of Surat, under the threat of military expedition and agreed to pay Rs 10,000 as *peshkash.*[50]

The *farman* also instructed the governors (*mutasaddis*) to arrange to deposit the amount realized from revenues into the treasury at Surat.[51]

These were by far not the only functions that were expected of the governor (*mutasaddi*) by the imperial court. It appears from the above mentioned Persian source that their services were considered important at the time of the dispatch of imperial ships. During Akbar’s reign, Muhammad Masum, the *hakim* (or *mutasaddi*) of Surat was ordered to assist the officials

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46 Ms. Blochet 482, *BN*, ff.49a-50a.

47 *Ibid.*

48 *Ibid*

49 *Mir’at*, supplt. ,p.228.

50 Lahori, II, p.109; Ms Blochet 482,*BN*, f 97a.

51 Ms Blochet 482,*BN*, ff490a-50a

of the imperial ship, *Akbar* going to Jeddah, to obtain cargo.[52]In 1643, Shahjahan issued a *farman* to the governors, Mir Sharafuddin Husain and Mir Hashim, ordering them to purchase commodities worth Rupees two lakhs to supply cargo for the Arabian peninsula (*bar-i Arab*) to be dispatched on the imperial ship *Ganjawar*. Of the two lakhs, the imperial agents traveling on the ship were to distribute rupees one lakh to the pious and the needy at Mecca; of the other one lakh they were to purchase pearls, horses and other rarities for the imperial court. In addition, the *farman* ordered the Mir brothers to furnish the imperial ships, *Ganjawar* and *Shahi* with provisions required for the voyage.[53]It appears from the another *farman* of Shahjahan to the Sharafuddin Husain, the *hakim* and all officers(*mutasaddis*) of the ship *Shahi*, that the expenses for the purchase of export commodities and for lifting the ships were to be met by the *hakim* out of the revenues oh the imperial *khasa*. In addition, the *hakim* of Surat was required to assist the king and the nobles in the purchase of merchandise and rarities. In another document he was required to purchase horses, canopies and curtain from the Portuguese for the imperial court.[54]In the matter of the purchase of jewels, horses and other commodities for the imperial court, the *mutasaddi* was to act in accordance with the imperial regulations. In this, he should help and assist the *diwan* (of Surat) and other officers (*mutasaddis*) in the settlement of their legitimate (*hisabi*) claims (*mutalaba*).[55]The *mutasaddi* of Surat was also expected to provide assistance to dignitaries going on hajj pilgrimage.[56]In 1671, Mirza Saifulla, governor of Surat was instructed to provide facilities for the

52 *Ibid* f. 132a.

53 *Ibid* ff.37a-38a

54 Ms. Blochet 482, *BN*, f.27a-b

55 *Ibid* ff.49a-50a.

56 *Ibid* ff.12b, 69a

departure of the ship in which Jahanara intended to proceed to Mecca on pilgrimage.[57]

The *mutasaddi* of Surat was paid either in cash or through *Jagir*(assignment).Hakim Masih-uz Zaman on being appointed to the port of Surat was assigned a *jagir* worth five lakhs of *mahmudis*(Rs 2,00,000).[58]Hafiz Muhammad Nasir, the *mutasaddi* of Surat, used to receive annually a cash salary of Rs 80,000.[59]An administrative manual written in the time of Farrukh Siyar recommends that governors or high officials were to have one-fourth of his *jagirs* in seditious (*zor-talab*) areas.[60]In compliance of this rule, *mutasaddi* of Surat had always *pargana* Chehrmandavi in *sarkar* Broach, a *zor-talab* region in his *tankhwa jagir*. Sometimes, *pargana* Atlesar in same *sarkar*, a *ghair amli* area was assigned in *jagir* to *mutasaddi* of Surat. Another *pargana* Hansot in the Broach *sarkar* was a conditional *jagir* of *mutasaddi* of Surat.[61]

In a *farman*(dated 1642) discussed above, *mutasaddi* of Surat was ordered to keep the residents (*mutawattin*) and merchants contented by his fair dealings. The merchants should be treated that they should feel encouraged to come to the port, and in trade with this port achieve prosperity (*murfa-ul hal*).[62]Likewise, *mutasaddis* were also not allowed to transgress certain limits in the exploitation of the peasants. In one *farman* (dated 1635) addressed to Mir Musa who got office of *mutasaddi* of both ports, Surat and

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57 Yousuf Husain, *Selected Documents of Aurangzeb's Reign*,1659-1706 AD,Hyderabad,1958, pp.100-101

58 *EFI*, 1634-36, Introduction p.XV.

59 *Mir'at*, I, p.229

60 *Hidayat-al Qawa'id*, f.8a

61 *Mir'at*, supplt. , pp.206-207.

62 Ms. Blochet 482 *BN*, ff.48a-50a.

Cambay on *ijara* (farming), he was instructed to keep inhabitants content with his administration and not to indulge in oppression of anyone.[63]

The tenure of *mutasaddis* was not fixed. They could be dismissed or transferred, reduced in *mansab* or downgraded on the complaint of merchants of the port against misuse of authority, covetousness and tyranny, and finally failure to discharge duties properly.

The influence of merchants in the dismissal of the *mutasaddi* was quite remarkable. In 1638, the imperial court had to remove Hakim Masih-uz Zaman from the governorship of Surat and Cambay on the representation of the *bania* merchants, after he had committed the blunder of imprisoning Virji Vora, an extremely rich and influential merchant of Surat.[64]In 1648, Ali Akbar lost the charge of Surat and Cambay owing to representation by a group of merchants, led by Manohar Das, a jewel merchant, charging with 'ruining' (*tabahkari*) the port.[65]In 1663, Mustafa Khan was removed from the governorship of Surat when a delegation of merchants lodged a complaint against his son who the *shahbandar,* in charge of the customhouse.[66]In 1677, Ghiasuddin Khan lost the charge of Surat on complaints of a delegation of Surat merchants led by Mirza Muazzam to the imperial court.[67]

Sometimes, corruption and inefficient working led to the dismissal of the *mutasaddis*. In 1656, when it was felt that Hafiz Muhammad Nasir had failed to perform his duties properly as *mutasaddi* of both Surat and Cambay,

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63 *Ibid* f.41a-b
64 *EFI*, 1637-41, p Introduction XVI.
65 Ms Blochet 482, *BN*, ff 17b-18a.
66 *EFI*, 1661-64, pp.203-05.
67 *EFI* (NS), I, pp . 217, 283-84.

he was recalled.[68] In 1664, the *mutasaddi* of Surat saw his *zat* and *sawar* rank reduced as he did not exert himself in collecting customs at the Surat port and as a result of which loss was incurred by the government in realizing the revenues.[69]

Mutasaddis (Governors) appointed at Surat (AD 1573-1707)

Mutasaddis (governors)	Period	Source
- Muhammad Qulij Khan	1572-79	Arif Qandhari,p.172;*Akbarnama*,III,p.246
- Muhammad Masum	1590-1595	Ms.Blochet 482 *BN* ff.131b, 132a-b
- Mirza Faizullah (Mirja Fursola)	1612-13	*EFI*, 1618-21, p. 150
-Shaikh Hasan Muqarrab Khan	1613-15	*Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, p.125,149;Roe,p.27
-Sohrab Khan(deputy governor)	1615	Roe,p.52
-Muhammad Baig,Zulfiqar Khan	1615	Roe, p.42
-Khwaja Nizam	1616	Roe, p.106
-Ibrahim Husain Khan	1616-17	Roe, pp.107, 253,357,414
- Jamal Khan	1618-19	*EFI*, 1618-21, p.100
-Ishaq Baig	1618-19	*EFI*,1618-21,p. XIX
-Jamshed Baig	1619-21	*EFI*, 1618-21,p.150,281
-Ishaq Baig	1621	*EFI*, 1618-21,p.281;EFI,1622-23,p.71
-Hakim Abdullah	1622	*EFI*, 1622-23, p.144
-Jam Quli Baig	1623	*EFI*, 1622-23, p. 255
-Bahadur Khan	1623	*EFI*, 1622-23, p.288
-Saif Khan Safi	1624	*EFI*, 1622-23, p.320; *EFI*, 1624-29, p.30.
-Information not available	1624-29	-

68 *Mir'at*, I p.234.

69 *Selected Documents of Aurangzeb's Reign*, 1659-1706 AD, p.44

-Mir Musa, Muizzul Mulk	1629-35	*EFI*, 1624-29, p.335; *EFI*, 1634-36, p. Introduction XV; *Mir'at*, I, p.208.
-Hakim Masih-uz Zaman	1636-38	*EFI*, 1634-36, pp. Introduction XV, 189;*Mir'at*, I,p.210.
-Mir Musa, Muizzul Mulk	1639-41	Lahori, II, p.234.
-Jam Quli	1641-42	*EFI*, 1637-41, p.XXVI; *EFI*, 1642-45, pp.24, 160.
-Sharafuddin Husain & Mir Hashim(Brothers & Joint Governors)	1643-44	Ms. Blochet 482, *BN* f.49a.
-Mirza Amin	1645-46	*EFI*, 1642-45, p. 253 n; *EFI*, 1646-50, p.62
-Mir Musa	1646	*EFI*, 1646-50, p.58.
-Ali Akbar Isfahani	1646	Lahori, II, p.607; *EFI*, 1646-50, p.62.
-Bakht Mal	1646-47	Lahori, II, p.607.
-Mir Musa	1648-49	*EFI*, 1646-50,p.XIV, XXII, 206, 254
-Mirza Arab	1649-51	*EFI*, 1646-50,pp.XXII,319; *Mir'at*, I, p.225
-Hafiz Nasir	1652-55	*EFI*, 1655-60, p.15, 62; *Mir'at*, I, pp.229-230.
-Muhammad Amin	1655-56	Waris,221a,239b:Cf.AtharAli, *Apparatus*,pp.292,295
-Ahmad Qasim	1655-56	Waris, 239 b: Cf.Athar Ali, *Apparatus*, p.295.
-Shaikh Budhan(Muhammad Amin)	1656-57	*EFI*, 1655-60; *Mir'at*, I, p.234.
-Abdul Latif	1657	*Mir'at*, I, p.236.
-Sadiq Muhammad Khan	1658	*'Alamgirnama*, I, pp.297-98; *Mir' at*, I, p.243.
-Gul Muhammad	1659	*Mir'at*, I, p.245.
-Mirza Arab	1659	*'Alamgirnama*,I,p.471;*EFI*, 1655-60, pp.123&n,198, 210,230
-Mustafa Khan	1660-63	*'Alamgirnama*,I,pp.471,606,765;*EFI*,1655-60,p.330;*EFI*,1661-64,p.205; *Mir'at*, I, p.252.
-Inayat Khan	1663-64	*'Alamgirnama*, p.768; *EFI*, 1661-64, pp.205-06,311,314; *Mir'at*, I, p.256.

- -Ghiyasuddin Khan	1664-66	*‘Alamgirnama*, p.851, 880; *EFI*, 1661-64, p.311; *EFI*, 1665-67, p.282 & n1.
-Muhammad Baig Khan	1666-67	*EFI*, 1665-67, p.282 & n1.
-Ghiyasuddin Khan	1667-68	*‘Alamgirnama*, p.851; *EFI*, 1665-67, p.282 & n1; *EFI*, 1668-69, p.114 & n 1.
-Zain-ul Abidin Khan	1668-69	*‘Alamgirnama*, p.1057; *EFI*, 1668-69, p.114 & n 1.
-Roshan Zamir	1669	*EFI*, 1668-69, p.198; *EFI* (*NS*), 1670-77, p.193.
-Mirza Saifullah	1670-72	*EFI* (*NS*), 1670-77, p.193.
-Ghiyasuddin Khan	1672-77	*EFI* (*NS*), 1670-77, pp.217, 283-84; *Mir’at*, I, p.293
-Kartalab Khan	1677-84	*EFI* (*NS*), 1678-84, pp.236 n 2,298 n2, 340; *Mir’ at* ,I, pp.293,312; Manucci, II, p.243.
-Salabat Khan	1684	*EFI* (*NS*), 1678-84, p. 340 n 8; *Mir’ at*, I, p.312.
-Haji Fazil	1684-85	Khafi Khan, II, p.286.
-Mu’tamid Khan	1685-86	*Mir’at*, I, p.315.
-Mukhtar Khan	1687-88	*Mir’at*, I, p.316.
-I’tmad Khan	1688-97	*Mir’at*, I, pp.318, 333; *Mir’at-ul Haqaiq*, f.101a.
-Amanant Khan	1697-99	*Ma’asir-i Alamgiri*, p.412; *Mir’at*, I, pp. 318,335,342; Manucci, III, p.466.
-Diyanat Khan	1699-1703	*Ma’asir-i Alamgiri*, p.412; *Mir’ at*, I, p.350.
-I’tibar Khan	1703	*Akhbarat* A, 98, 99; *Mir ‘at*, I, p .350; Manucci, III, p.466.
-Najabat Khan	1703-05	*Mir ‘at*, I, p. 350.
-Amanant Khan	1705-11	*Mir’ at*, I, p .357.

As we have seen, *mutasaddi* of Surat was responsible for the collection of revenues from trade and commerce and other taxes realized from the adjacent *parganas*. The custom house of Surat was under the direct jurisdiction of the port officer of Surat. In contemporary Persian sources, the Customhouse is called *furza*[70] whereas in European records, it had been variously called the *'Alfandica', 'Dogana',* and '*Choquidar*'.[71] The English Factory Records usually simply call it 'Customhouse'.[72]

In Surat , customshouse (*furza)* was a part of the *sair*(trade taxes) establishment, which also included *khushkimandi* (land transit check post), *darul zarb* (mint), *ghalla mandi*(grain market), *Namaksar* (saltpans),*marammat jahazat* (shipbuilding and repairing) and *furza-i* Broach(customhouse of Broach).[73]

The customhouse of Surat was located on the river Tapti near the *qila* (of Surat) close to the landing point. Its location was such that no visitor to Surat could avoid by-passing it.[74] The building of the customhouse comprised the large Courtyard (covered pavilion or *kiosk)* towards sea and a large hall. It had two gates, one towards the river Tapti and the other, after the hall , with a wicket which led into the *bazaar*.[75] Thevenot , visiting Surat in 1666, has provided the description of the working of the

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70 *Mir'at*, supplt. pp.194,222-23; Ms.Blochet 483,*BN* ff.54,55,56,57; *Mirat-ulHaqaiq*,ff.94a, 98 & passim.

71 *Letters Recived*, IV,p.320; Finch,*EarlyTravels*,pp.134-135;Pietro Della Valle, *The Travels of PietroDella Valle in India*, tr. Edward Grey, Hakluyt Society, 2 vols., London, 1892,I, p.23; Fray Sebastian Manrique, *Travels of Fray Sebastian Manrique*, 1629-43, tr.C.E.Luard & H.Hosten, 2 vols., Hakluyt Society, London, 1927, II, p. 236.

72 *EFI* ,1618-69, 13 vols.

73 *Mirat-ulHaqaiq*, f.99a.Revenues from sources other than land revenue were classified under separate fiscal units called *sair*, and these were collectively known as *sair jihat.*

74 Finch, *Early Travels*, p.134.

75 *Pietro Della Valle*, I, p.23.

customhouse of Surat.[76] It usually opened at ten in the morning and closed at noon.[77] The merchandise once brought on shore was carried to the *furza* for assessment of the custom dues (*ushr / ushur / mahsul*). Every passenger and his goods were thoroughly searched. This severity of examination is commented upon by all European visitors. Tavernier states: "As soon as merchandise is landed at Surat it had to be taken to the customhouse, which adjoins the fort. The officers are very strict and search persons with great care."[78] One reason for such severity was evasion of custom dues by fraud, a very common practice at Surat.[79]

The customshouse was under the jurisdiction of the port officer *(mutasaddi*) of Surat. It was his duty to collect dues on goods exported or imported.[80] For this, the *mutasaddi* used to appoint his deputy or agent as the superintendent of the customhouse.[81] This deputy was designated by various names, including *darogha-i furza*, or *shahbandar*.[82] In English Factory Records, he is designated 'Customer'.[83] The *shahbandar (*or *darogha-i furza*) was generally a close family relation of the *mutasaddi*.[84] In 1663, Mustafa Khan was removed from the governorship of Surat when a delegation of merchants lodged a complaint against his

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76 *Thevenot*, pp.2-3.

77 *Ibid*., p.3.

78 Tavernier, I, p.7.

79 *EFI* ,1624-29 pp.236,321; *EFI*, 1630-33 pp187-88,211,271,274; *EFI*, 1634-36 pp.165,213.

80 Hawkins, *EarlyTravels*, p.63; Mandelslo, p.9.

81 *Mir'at*, supplt. p.222.

82 *Mirat-ul Haqaiq*, ff. 284a,363a-b;John Fryer, *A New Account of East India and Persia being Nine Years' Travels*,1672-81,ed.W.Crooke, 3 vols., Hakluyt Soceity, London, 1909,1912,1915, I, p.247. Ashin Das Gupta has argued that unlike other Indian Ocean ports, at Surat the *shahbandar* was an insignificant officer merely to assist the *darogha-i furza*, the in charge of the customhouse , *op.cit* p. 27.

83 *EFI* 13 vols. passim.

84 *Indian Merchants and Decline of Surat*, p.25.

son who was the *shahbandar* of the customhouse.[85] Inayat Khan was appointed *mutasaddi* in his place. He removed the entire old staff of the customhouse and appointed new men from amongst his sons and favourites.[86] In 1723, Rustam Ali Khan Bahadur, *mutasaddi* of Surat, appointed his son Sohrab Khan as daroga-*i furza*.[87]

Sometimes, this office was also held by merchants. Haji Muhammad Zahid Beg,a influential local merchant of Surat was *shahbandar* in the 1620s and 1630s.[88] Another such example was of Khwaja Jalaluddin, a local merchant of Surat who was called as *shahbandar* of Surat by English factors in 1627-28.[89]

The day to day management of the Surat customhouse was looked after by the Customer (*shahbandar* or *darogha-i furza*). His main duty was to mark goods for export (with King's seal) and clear the imports, thereafter giving permits to merchants.[90] For this , he had to check and search the persons and merchandise coming to customhouse, estimate the value of goods and collect custom dues on them.[91] Not only was it his duty to ensure that all those who passed through the customhouse paid the custom dues and that daily account of the goods and merchants passing through the customhouse were properly maintained.[92] In

85 *EFI*, 1661-64, pp.203-5.
86 *Ibid*. p. 205.
87 *Mirat-ul Haqaiq*, f.284 a.
88 *EFI* , 1624-29 p.330; *EFI* , 1634-36 p.301; Ms. Blochet 482, *BN* f.17a-b.
89 *Ibid.*, 1624-29 pp.211-12.
90 Fryer, I, pp. 247-48.
91 Thevenot, p.1-4.
92 *Letters Received*, IV, p.78; Tavernier, I, p.11.

these functions, he was assisted by the clerks of customhouse.[93] In some matters, he was delegated powers by the *mutasaddi* of Surat. He could issue licence to petty merchants for keeping *bazaars* on Swally sand at the order of the *mutasaddi.*[94]The *Shahbandar* had also to negotiate with the merchants in case of any dispute between the Mughal authorities and merchants especially European merchants.[95]

In matters of higher policies he could not act at his own discretion, but had to have instructions from the governor of Surat. For example, he could not permit any foreign ship to enter the harbour, to load and unload cargo or any stranger to land and open business, unless asked to do so by the *mutasaddi* of Surat. When Hawkins (in 1608) asked the Customer of Surat for permission to unload his cargo and open a factory at Surat to buy and sell merchandise, the latter told him that it was not within his authority to deal with his case. The Customer sought the permission from the governor on behalf of the English.[96] Following the policy of governor, he extended a fair measure of protection to the English interlopers (breaking the monopoly of the English Company in1680s.[97]

There was a subordinate staff to assist the *darogha-i furza* in the assessment and realization of custom dues. Their appointment and dismissal was at the discretion of the *mutasaddi* of Surat.[98] Assisting the *darogha*, was his secretary (*khasnavis*) and in addition, there were the two

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93 *EFI*, 1630-33 pp.153-4.
94 *EFI* , 1622-23 p.236.
95 *EFI* (*NS*),1670-77, I, pp.210-14.
96 Hawkins, *EarlyTravels*, p.71.
97 *EFI* (*NS*), 1678-84, pp.297-98.
98 *EFI*, 1661-64 p.205.

enigmatic figures, the *qanungo* and one carrying the title *shahbandar*.[99] Ashin Das, on the basis of Dutch records, says that the theory at Surat was that the *qanungo* was the spokesman for the local merchants, representing theirs rights and explaining their grievances in case of a difference with the officials. The *shahbandar* was to perform this function for the merchants coming from abroad.[100] There was also a provision of *mushrif* (accountant) and *tahvildar* (treasurer) for *furza*.[101] The clerks, mainly drawn from the *bania* class were the most important.[102] They valued the goods and assessed the cesses on them. They kept a daily account of the goods and merchants coming to the customhouse in a register, in both Persian and Gujarati.[103] The lower staff was comprised of a large number of waiters (guards) and porters collectively known as peons or *piyadas* (footmen).[104] The guards were to keep watch and looked after everything in the customhouse. The porters were employed to bring the men and their goods on their backs from boats up to the court and into the big hall of the customhouse.[105] Ashin Das Gupta estimates the number of officials at the customhouse of Surat by scanning the lists of 'annual presents' which the Dutch factors entered every year in the books. On this basis, the minor officials at the customhouse usually numbered about fifteen.[106]

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99 *Indian Merchants and Decline of the Surat*, p.27.
100 *Ibid*.
101 *Mir'at*, supplt. p.222-23; Ms.Blochet 482,*BN*, f.116a-b.
102 *EFI*, 1618-21 p. Introduction XIV; Thevenot , p.38.
103 *EFI* 1624-29 pp.211-12; *EFI* ,1630-33 pp.153-54; *EFI* , 1634-36 p.184; Thevenot, p.3.
104 Thevenot, pp.2-3,38.
105 *Ibid.* pp.1-2.
106 *Indian Merchants and Decline of the Surat,* p.28 f.no.4.

Towards the beginning of the seventeenth century, a customs post (*chauki*) was established at Swally.[107] But this led to a dispute on the jurisdiction over the Swally customs between the *shiqdar* of Olpar and the *mutasaddi* of Surat. The *Shiqdar* of Olpar, Khwaja Abulhasan claimed customdues on the ground that Swally belonged to his *pargana*.[108] This resulted in the English and the Dutch having to pay customs at both Swally and Surat. When the English petitioned to Emperor Jahangir against this exaction of dual customs, he issued an order, on 16 December 1627, that the authorities of Olpar should desist from realizing customs from the English who should only pay to the authorities of Surat.[109] Another *farman* with similar contents was also issued in favour of the Dutch Company.[110]

The official rate for the custom charges at all Mughal ports, in theory, was 2.5% ad *valorem* on all goods imported or exported, except bullion which paid only 2%. According to Abul Fazl, under Akbar the custom duties did not exceed two and a half per cent.[111] Jahangir is reported to have warned that custom charges should not be more than one in forty (2.5%).[112] William Finch, who arrived at Surat in 1608, found that the customs amounted to “two and half for goods, three for victuals, and two for money”.[113] But subsequent statements suggest that sometime in the year 1611-12 custom charges were increased to 3.5% in the name of the customer’s brokerage or *dasturi*. When Thomas Best came to Surat in 1612, he found the duty on merchandise

107 Ms.Blochet 482, *BN*, ff.121a-122a.
108 *EFI*, 1624-29 pp.Introduction XXVI, 175-76.
109 Ms.Blochet 482, *BN*, ff.88a-89a.
110 *Ibid.* ff.88a.
111 *A’in*, I, p.204.
112 *Tuzuk*, pp.206-207.
113 Finch,*Early Travels*, p.134.

to be at 3.5%.[114] The letters of the English factors also confirm that custom charges at Surat were now 3.5%.[115] According to a letter from the English factors at Surat , dated 1616, it was reported that although the official rate stood at 2.5%, they (custom officials) charged one per cent more for the customer's brokerage; but the natives were exempted from that levy.[116] The Dutch factor, Pieter van Den Broecke , writing in 1628, mentions 1% as *dasturi* on all incoming and outgoing goods which means a commission for custom services.[117] Another Dutch factor, Pelsaert, visiting India during the later years of Jahangir , says that " custom duties are here three and an half per cent on all imports and exports and two per cent on money either gold or silver".[118] Mandelslo (in 1638), too refers to the duty being three and a half on goods and two per cent on bullion.[119]The rate of 3.5 %(2.5% official rate and 1% customer's brokerage) continued up to 1664. In 1664, as a major of relief after Shivaji's plunder of Surat, Aurangzeb remitted customs for one full year to all merchants whether Indian or Europeans.[120] On 14 March the same year Aurangzeb , at the request of Surat merchants, both Indian and foreign, issued an order for a general remission in the custom allowing the merchants to pay 2% instead of 2.5%.[121] In 1667, the Dutch again approached the Emperor

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114 Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrimes*, Glasgow, 20 vols., 1905,IV, p.126.

115 *Letters Received*, III, p.5; *EFI*, 1624-29 p.92.

116 *Ibid.*,IV, p.331; *EFI*, 1624-29 p.92.

117 Pieter van den Broecke, Surat 'Diary',1620-29, tr.W.H.Moreland,*JIH*, X,235-50;XI,1-16,203-18,

118 Palseart,*Jahangir'sIndia*, tr.Moreland and Geyl, Delhi,1972,p.42.

119 Mandelslo , p.9.

120 *EFI* ,1661-64, p.311.

121 *Ibid.*, pp.313-315.

and he favoured them with a royal *farman* dated 25 June 1667, addressed to Governor and other officers at Surat. According to this *farman* , the custom duties in the case of the Dutch were lowered from 3.5% to 2%. A little later the English too secured the same reduction.[122] The English, like the Dutch and Portuguese, went on paying customs at the rate of 2% until 1679-80, when Aurangzeb, in lieu of *jeziya*(poll tax), raised it to 3.5%.[123] This was indeed a serious increase, and Rolt, an official of the English Company, estimated that it would cost the Company about 20,000 rupees a year.[124]It appears from the English sources that the order was rigorously implemented, and efforts by the English to get it rescinded including a combined offer by the Dutch, the English and the Portuguese of a bribe of 30,000 rupees to the 'Governor and other high officers at Surat' proved invain.[125] In *Surat Documents*,[126] there is a *parwana-i tasdiq muafi* Qamar al Din *Muhammad Shahi*, dated 19 March 1726 which affirms, through an indirect reference that the rates of custom charges from the time of Aurangzeb and his subsequent successors down to Muhammad Shah amounted to 2.5% on goods exported or imported.[127]

From the above discussion, it can be inferred that throughtout the seventeenth century and also up to the first quarter of the eighteenth century, the official custom rate seldom exceeded two and a half per cent. But officers

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122 *EFI*, 1668-69, pp.35,116,228.

123 *EFI*(*NS*), III, pp.255-56.

124 *Ibid*.

125 *Ibid.*

126 These documents were purchased by the Centre of Advanced Study in History, AMU, from a private dealer in 1974. All these documents relate to the port of Surat and have been bound in a file labeled as *The Surat Documents*. The facsimiles and transcribed texts of these documents are given in M.P.Singh, op.cit., Appendix E, p.314

127 Surat Documents, AMU. No.1

on spot could charge more than scheduled customs under one pretext or the other.

The *Surat Documents* have also revealed some other facts in regard to custom dues. Certain influential merchant families were exempted from it. A *parwana* issued on 5 May 1702 declares that Shaikh Muhammad Fazil, 'the chief merchant' ('*umdat-ut tujjar'*) was exempted from the custom dues *('ushur'*) on merchandise worth 50,000 rupees or less. The exemption was granted on grounds that his father, Shaikh Hamid, an influential merchant enjoyed the same privilege in his lifetime.[128] A *dastak* issued by Dayanat Khan in March 1702, recites that Shaikh Muhammad Fazil had requested remission on goods worth up to one lakh rupees, just as was the case for Mulla Abdul Ghafur, one of the richest and influential merchant in Surat. But the imperial court, had declined to grant so huge a remission, and merely allowed him to continue enjoying the exemption that his family had earlier been enjoying.[129]

There was no fixed rule, as far as, the mode of payment of custom dues concerned. It appears from English Factory Records that English did not pay custom dues in 'ready cash'. Streynsham Master, writing in 1670, informs us that during the preceding sixty years (ie.1610-70), the English paid customs, by a conventional agreement with the port officials, not in 'ready money' but a 'year after'.[130] In 1623, Governor of Surat had borrowed 4,000 *mahmudis* from Khwaja Jalaluddin, a merchant of Surat, which was to be

128 *Ibid* No.3.
129 *Ibid* No.2.
130 *EFI* (NS),1670-77, I, p.199.

repaid on payment by the English factory of the amount due for customs.[131] In 1657, Revington, an official of the English Company, sold a number of guns to the *mutasaddi* of Surat under an agreement that 'part of the purchase money should be deducted annually out of the sum to be paid as customs'.[132] The Dutch also did not pay custom dues in cash. They used to pay tax on their imports in goods. This is evident from the Dutch petition submitted at the Court of Shah Alam I in 1712.[133]

The practice of enhanced valuation of goods for assessment of custom dues, known as *sawai*, was very common.[134]There were no rules for valuation of merchandise. Custom officials exploited this lacuna to enhance their revenues by assessing the commodities in excess of their original price. To check the abuse of overvaluation, Shahjahan issued a *farman* in 1642, on the representation of the Dutch prescribing rules (*zabita*) to determine prices of merchandise for the assessment of custom dues. According to the *farman*, goods purchased at Akbarabad(Agra) were to be assessed after raising the cost price by 'ten-twelfth'(20%) and those purchased at Ahmedabad by 'ten-half'(5%). The assessment on merchandise bought at Surat, Baroda and other places 'in the vicinity' of Surat was to be at their cost price stated in the account books (*bihchik).*[135] The English also got the benefit of these rules

131 *EFI*, 1622-23 pp.277, 281.

132 *EFI*, 1661-64 pp.13.

133 This petiton is cited in C.R. Wilson, The Early Annals of the English, being the Public Consultations for the First Half of the Eighteenth Century, reprint, New Delhi, 1983, II, 2, p.292.

134 Letters Received, III, p.5; *EFI*, 1622-23 pp. Introduction xxx-xxxi; *EFI*, 1637-41 p.207; *EFI*, 1642-45 p. 99; Ms. Blochet 482, *BN*, ff. 139a-140a.

135 Ms. Blochet 482, *BN*, ff. 7b-8a, 45a.The translation of the *farman* is given in Jawaid Akhtar, 'Shahjahan's *Farmans* to the Dutch, *PIHC*, 48 Session, (Goa 1987), New Delhi,1988, pp.251-60. The English, however, referring to this *farman*, inform us that the prices of goods purchased at Ahmadabad was to enhanced by 10%, while, in the *farman*, as it is quite evident, the rate stated is 5%.In all other details their description is faithful to the copy of the *farman*,

spelt out in this *farman*.[136] In English factory records, there are relatively fewer references to the abuse of over valuation after about the second half of the seventeenth century. The abuse of over valuation is not mentioned in the long list of grievances submitted to Shahjahan in 1650.[137] In actual practice, however, its effects were highly variable, with some merchants benefiting from it, while others finding it of no avail.In *the Surat Documents*, there is a *dastak* of Dayanat Khan Alamgiri dated 4th Ramzan 46th year of Aurangzeb, which in its second portion contains information about a number of irregularities and corrupt practices which the clerks and agents of the *mutasaddi* used to practice at the time of valuation of goods and collection of customs. In the above *dastak*, it is mentioned that Muhammad Fazil, son of Haji Hamid , merchant of the port of Surat, through a petition brought it to the notice of Imperial Court that the "clerks (*mutasaddis*) of the customshouse of the port of Surat fix the prices in *ibrahimi* and riyals, and take the custom(*ushr*) in rupees, and, also assess the prices of goods and articles above the prices current".[138] This shows that merchants continued to face the problem of overvaluation of merchandise in the Surat customshouse during the reign of Aurangzeb as well.

Besides *sawai,* delay in clearing goods at Surat custom was frequent and it was practiced with object of extorting bribes from the merchants.[139] Thevenot says, "This did not complete requirements of the customs. I

that available to us : *EFI*, 1642-45 , pp.159-160.

136 *EFI*, 1642-45 pp. 214.

137 *EFI*, 1646-50 pp.301-303. Compare this with another list of grievances submitted to Zulfiqar Khan, the *mutasaddi* of Surat, in 1616, where indeed this 'abuse' finds a prominent place *Letters Received*, IV, pp. 78-80.

138 Surat Documents, AMU, No. 2.

139 *EFI*,1618-21 pp.232,282,317-18;*EFI*,1630-33 p.326; Fryer , I, pp.247-48.

(Thevenot) had the good fortune to be admitted with the first batch. Others however had to wait for many days, sometimes even for a month, before they could get out their baggage'.[140] Surat custom officials also made a profit by forced dealings in goods which came into the customs house. They could refuse delivery of the goods for a long time.[141] It seems that this practice was the outcome of private commercial interests of the *mutasaddi* and custom officials.

The direct appointment of the *mutasaddi* from the imperial headquarters implied that in theory he was to be independent of the *subadar* and other provincial officers. But he was to function under a system of checks and balances. First of all, the *subadar* enjoyed certain powers over him. For example, in one instance (1672) the merchants of Surat headed by Mirza Muazzam took their petition to the *subadar*, Muhammad Amin Khan, complaining against the oppression of the *mutasaddi*, Ghiyasuddin Khan, who was subsequently removed from office.[142]In another instance, following the reports of maladministration and negligence on the part of *mutasaddi* of Surat, and of increasing European attacks on merchants ships of Surat, bound for Arabia, Prince A'zam, the governor of Gujarat (1701-1705) was required to look into the matter and after consultation with the merchants and others at Surat to report the real cause and to make proper arrangements. The plea taken in case was that since the port of Surat was included in the *suba* of Gujarat, it was requisite that *subadar* should look into the affairs of that

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140 Thevenot, p.4.

141 *LettersReceived*, IV,p.79; *EFI* 1618-21 p.101,187; *EFI* 1655-60,pp.312-13; *Mir'at-ul Haqaiq*, f.263a.

142 *EF (NS*), I,pp.283-84

port.[143] In another case still, the *mutasaddi* was warned by Shaista Khan, governor of Gujarat, for unnecessarily detaining Tavernier at Surat, and was told, 'either to allow him (Tavernier) to depart, or otherwise he would have to resign.'[144]

In case of other provincial officers, theoretically, it was expected of *mutasaddi* to work in consultation with the provincial authorities. This what appears from Shahjahan's *farman* issued in March 1636 to Hakim Masih-uz Zaman, governor of Surat. This *farman* was issued after Masih-uz Zaman refused to deliver the rebellious *desais* of Unjar(?) who were under arrest to the agent of Mir Sabir, the *diwan* of Gujarat, even after repeated requests from the *diwan*. The *farman* ordered Masih-uz Zaman to deliver the prisoners to the *diwan.* More important, it further ordered, that the *mutasaddi* should before settling the revenue (*jama'*) on the villages of the arrested *desais* consult the *diwan* of Gujarat.[145]

It may be noted that, according to *Mir'at,* in the administrative set up of Surat port, *diwani* of Surat *sarkar*, sometimes, was invested in the *mutasaddi* of port itself or attached to the *diwani* of *suba*.[146]

According to Ashin Das, in the port administration, immediately next to the *mutasaddi* of port, stood the supreme revenue official, the *diwan* who worked with his own officials, the *desais*.[147]

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143 *Mir'at*, I, p.353; *Akhbarat* A185.

144 Tavernier, I, p.325.

145 Ms. Blochet 482, *BN*, ff.35a-b.

146 *Mir'at*, supplt. p.222.

147 *Indian Merchants and Decline of Surat*, p.25.

It appears that like the *diwan* of *suba*, besides cooperating and helping *mutasaddi*, he was to keep a watch on his administration. In 1639, when Hakim Masih-uz Zaman was removed from the governorship of Surat, the English factors wrote that" …… we put a period to this business and Hackymes (Masih-uz Zaman's) government. For the cry of the oppressed generality arriving to the King's knowledge by Duwans (Diwans) advises who differing with the Governor disapproved his cruel courses……**.** [148]

In Surat administration, *mutasaddi* (governor) and *qiledar* (commandant of Surat Castle) were apparently independent of each other and the latter had nothing to do with the day to day running of the town.[149]According to Mughal theory, these two functionaries were to keep each other in check. In 1619, *qiledar* of Surat castle rebuked the conduct of Ishaq Beg when his men clashed with English merchants.[150]

There were cases when the *mutasaddi* and the commandant found themselves on opposite sides whether in factional politics or in war of succession. Such instances occurred in 1623 during the rebellion of Khurram (Shahjahan) and in 1657-58 during the war of succession in which Aurangzeb emerged victor.[151]

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148 *EFI* 1637-41,pp.109-10.

149 However, when the *mutasaddi* was not in the city or was under orders of transfer, the *qiledar* was asked to officiate in his stead and to look after the entire general administration of the town and port .Mirza Jam Quli was for several years the commandant of the Surat castle.In 1619,twice in the absence of *mutasaddi* of Surat,he officiated as Governor of the said place.(*EFI 1618-21*,pp.120,218.)

150 *EFI 1618-21*,148-49

151 For Khurram's rebellion,see *EF1* 1622-23, pp.243,246,255-56,259,262; Manucci, I, p.242; G.B. Gokhale, *Surat in the Seventeenth Century:A Study in Urban History of Pre-Modern India*,Bombay,1978,p.52.

Sometimes, the differences between *mutasaddi* of Surat and *qiledar* could be disastrous. In the declining years of Mughal authority in Gujarat when it was under constant pressure of Maratha invasions, sometimes their differences led to the open fight between them. One such occasion was in 1714, when Momin Khan, *mutasaddi* of Surat, had differences with Zia Khan, the *qiledar* of the fort (castle). Both summoned their partisans, and there was some armed conflict between their forces near Broach, but the *qiledar* had ultimately to give way.[152]

Beside the checks from the commandant of the castle, and the balancing presence of the *diwan* who worked with his own officials, the *desais*, there were the two imperial reporters at *mutasaddi's* court, as they were to be found at every provincial court within the empire. The *wakianavis* was the public recorder of events and the *harkara*, confidential reporter to the emperor whose chronicles were carefully noted in the imperial chancery.[153] *Mutasaddi* was usually afraid of the news-reporter (*waqa*i) for, he could send reporter to the head quarters. In one instance, Kartalab Khan, the *mutasaddi* of Surat, had to bribe the courier, lest he might report matters to the Emperor correctly.[154] In a discourse with the English factors, the *mutasaddi* of Surat showed his fear of the *waqainavis* who could report to the Emperor against him.[155]

The port town of Surat had also officials such as *kotwal* and *qazi* etc. to help the *mutasaddi* in the administration of the port cities. Like other towns

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152 *Mir'at*, I ,p.410; *A History of Gujarat*, II,Bombay,1957,p.389.

153 *Mirat*, supplt. pp.174-75;J.N.Sarkar,*Mughal Administration*,Calcutta,1920,p.61;Ashin Das Gupta,*op.cit*.,pp.25-26.

154 *Mir'at*, I, p.312.

155 *EF(NS)* 1678-84,II, p.310.

and cities of the Mughal Empire, port city of Surat had also provision of a *qazi* in its administrative set up. The chief duty of a *qazi* was that of adjudication in civil and criminal disputes. Besides this, *qazi* used to remain with *mutasaddi* to assist him on points of law.[156] As already known, in Mughal administration, *kotwal* was responsible for the safety and protection of the people living in a city or town. In this regard, he was to hunt down thieves, punish criminals, imprison delinquents and keep a record of all people living in the town. He was also to prevent people from visiting brothels and taverns. [157]John Fryer has described *kotwal* of the Surat city as the governor of the Night.[158] As the incharge of law and order, *kotwal* was to obey the *mutasaddi* (governor) of port who was the chief executive of the port. On several occasions, the *kotwal* of Surat at the instance of the *mutasaddi* had to arrest or put under confinement such merchants as dared defy his orders. *Mutasaddi* of Surat had a quarrel with the English over purchase of some guns from them. The former were put to house arrest for 15 days by the *kotwal* at the orders of the *mutasaddi*.[159] In 1691, it was reported that certain 'hat's men' had taken the ship of Abdul Ghafur, the influential merchant of the Surat. Following this, *mutasaddi* of Surat ordered *kotwal* to shut the city gates so that none could go out of the city. In this way, all the Europeans were confined within the city wall.[160]

156 Fryer, I, p.242.
157 *Mir'at*, I,pp.168-170.
158 Fryer, I, p.246.
159 *EFI*,1661-64 pp.13-14.
160 J. Ovington, *A voyage to Surat in the year* 1689, ed. H.G. Rawlinson, reprint, London, 1929, p.239.

Another official present in the administrative apparatus of Surat port was *mir-i bahr*. He was an imperial official who was in charge of boat and ferry taxes etc[161]. His men watched against smuggling along the river banks.

Another officer attached to the Mughal administration in Surat port was Sidi Yakut Khan of Janjira. Sidis of Rajpuri came under Mughal subjugation in 1661.[162] They had no business to meddle with the administration of Surat. Their duty was hold the fleet which his *Habshi* clan had built up at Janjira, some way below Bombay, at the service of the imperial government and give protection to Indian ships.[163] They collected their salary claims from the customs of Surat, which amounted to one lakh and fifty thousand rupees annually.[164]

161 *Indian Merchants and Decline of the Surat*, p.27;*Mir'at-ul Haqaiq*, f.98a.

162 *Mir'at*, I, pp.273-74.

163 Ibid; *Indian Merchants and Decline of the Surat*, p.26.

164 *Mir'at*, I,pp.273-74. In 1726, it was one lakh rupees: *Mir'at-ul Haqaiq*, f.441a.

Chapter VI

Territorial Administration: Faujdars

TERRITORIAL ADMINISTRATION: *FAUJDARS*

According to Abul Fazl, maintenance of law and order was the primary concern of the government.[1] In the provincial administrative apparatus as evolved under Mughals, three officials namely *nazim, faujdar and thanadar* were mainly responsible for the maintenance of law and order.

In the executive branch of provincial administration, the post of *faujdar* ranked next to the *nazim* (governors).He was normally, though not invariably, the head of the *sarkar,* which was both an administrative and a revenue division.

The territorial jurisdiction of the *faujdar* has been a subject of some controversy among the students of Mughal administrative institutions. Noman Ahmad Siddiqi, through his examination of evidences in various sources, has pointed out that the *faujdari* (*faujdar's* jurisdiction) constitute a separate and distinct administrative unit which was quite independent of fiscal divisions of *sarkar* and *pargana*. Such an administrative unit might comprise a few *thanas*, a *pargana* or a number of *parganas*.[2]

The tenure of the office of the *faujdar* does not seem to have been fixed. It varied from place to place and time to time. But the transfer of the *faujdar* was a well established administrative practice. This has been shown by Noman Ahmad Siddiqi very elaborately by taking up the connected account of the office of the *faujdars* in *sarkars* of Sorath, Patan, Baroda and Idar. To enforce his thesis further, an example from the Dholka area of

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1 *A'in* , I, pp.289-94.

2 Noman Ahmad Siddiqi, The *Faujdar* and *Faujdari* under Mughals in Muzaffar Alam and Sanjay Subrahmanyam (eds.), *The Mughal State* 1526-1750, Delhi,1998, pp.234-257.

Ahmadabad, based on evidence in *Akhbarat* of Prince A'zam can be cited. In 46 R.Y. of Aurangzeb, Muhammad Baqir was *faujdar-amin* of Dholka, *khasa sharifa*, who desired to relinquish his office.[3] Subsequently, in the next month he was replaced by Khawaja Asadullah Baig, son of Mirza Baig with a conditional *mansab*.[4] Next year, the *diwan* of *suba*, Khawaja Abdul Hamid was granted title of Hamid Khan, *faujdari* of Dholka and Asadullah Baig was shifted to *thanadari* of some other place.[5]

In Mughal Empire, as shown by Noman Ahmad Siddiqi, the areas of jurisdiction of the *faujdar* were not uniform but varied considerably in size and importance. In this regard, the *suba* of Gujarat did not present a different picture. Here we can classify, broadly, three types of *faujdar* .In the first category; we may place *faujdar* like that of Sorath. To this only nobles of very high ranks were appointed.[6] On the hand, there were very small *faujdars*, eg of the environs of the city of Ahmadabad (*faujdar-i gird*), who policed merely the area around the capital.[7] Between them were the average size *faujdars* which mostly comprised *faujdars* designated *Qila'cha nashin* (*faujdar* having *qila*).[8]

The *faujdars* were appointed by the Emperor through the *farman-i sabti*, a manner in which other high appointments were made.[9] As *faujdar* represented the military or police power of the imperial Government, the

3 *Akhbarat* A,19,20.
4 *Akhbarat* A,23.
5 *Akhbarat* A, 213,215,219.
6 *Ruq'at-i Alamgiri*, ed. Muhammaduddin, Lahore,1924, p.9.
7 *Akhbarat A*, 1and passim; For his functions, see, Arshia Shafqat, Conduct of Provincial Government under Imperial Mughals- A Study of Akhbarat of Prince Azam's Headquarter in Gujarat-1702-04, *PIHC*, Bareilly, 2004, Delhi 2005,pp.402-407.
8 *Mir'at*, supplt. pp.188-228.
9 Munshi Nand Ram Kayasth Srivastava, *Siyaq Nama*, 1694-96, lithographed, Nawal Kishore,Lucknow, 1879,p.67;P.Saran,p.229.

primary criterion for being appointed as *faujdar* of any area was military capability. For the post of *faujdar* of Barasinor(a seat of *faujdar* having *qila* in the *sarkar* of Ahmadabad) Salabat Khan, son of Safdar Khan Babi, was given preference over Sadurddin, son of Mir Ghiasuddin, *mir saman* of the *suba* because of the formers standing as military commander.[10]

A close scrutiny of the *Akhbarat* of Prince A‘zam's headquarter reveals that other criteria were also influencing the appointment of *faujdars* in the Gujarat *suba*. Shaikh Muhammad Khan, *faujdar* of Sankhera, also obtained the *faujdari* of Ali Mohan through a payment of Rs 10,000/- as *peshkash*. There were other claimants to this post who also offered *peshkash*.[11] A payment of *peshkash* could serve on other occasion as well. Saiyyid Ali, *faujdar* of Kajnah (a *thana* in *pargana* Cambay) was dismissed on the ground of his inefficient working. But he secured his continuation in the post by paying Rs 15,000/- as *peshkash*[12]. The same source further reveals that at times, both these factors as military capability and *peshkash* were overlooked in the appointment of the *faujdar*. In 1704, Mustafa Quli, *faujdar* of *pargana* Bahadurpur of *sarkar* Baroda, lost his life in Surat in the battle against Marathas. To take his place, the name of Ali Mardan Khan, son of Muhammad Baig Khan, was proposed, who was a competent soldier and also offered Rs 7,000/- as *peshkash*. But taking into consideration administrative convenience, Shaikh Muhammad Khan, *faujdar* of Sankhera was given the

10 *Akhbarat* A, 112,116,117.
11 *Akhbarat* A, 120, 121, 122, 142 and 190.
12 *Akhbarat* A, 215, 216.

charge of Bahadurpur as Sankhera was situated in the vicinity of Bahadurpur[13].

In Mughal administration, prescribed duties of the *faujdar* extended to police, military, revenue and judicial affairs.[14] As a police officer, he was mainly responsible for the maintenance of law and order and prevention of robbery and theft in his jurisdiction. In case of robbery or theft in his area, he was bound to either recover the goods lost or himself pay compensation to the victims.[15] Connected to this, was the *faujdar*'s duty to ensure safety of the roads and highways.[16] Further, *faujdars* were instructed to insure the supply of food grains to the city. In 1702-03, *darogha-i ganj bazaar* reported non arrival of food grains to Ahmadabad. Therefore, Amanullah Baig, *faujdar-i gird* was directed to set up his *nakas* to enable safe transport of food grains to the city of Ahmadabad.[17] It was also the duty of the *faujdars* to insure that *yasawals* (imperial officials on special duty), *gurzbardar* (mace-bearers) etc carrying imperial *farmans* or any other communiqué from imperial court to the officers posted in different parts of the empire and vice versa should pass through their areas of jurisdiction safely and without delay. In 1639-40, a *dastak* was issued to agents of *faujdars*, *jagirdars* and *zamindars* on the Ahmadabad-Lahore route to ensure safe return of *yasawals*, who brought royal *farman* to Surat.[18] In 1696, a royal order was issued that *dak chauki* horses should be maintained by the *faujdar*. Whenever a horse dies at a

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13 *Akhbarat* A, 193,194 and 195.
14 *A'in*, I, p.283; *Hidayat-al Qawaid*, f.7a-b.
15 Ovington, p.139; *Akhbarat* A, 78,193; Manucci, II, p.423.
16 *Ibid*.
17 *Akhbarat* A, 71,72; For more instances of this nature, see M.P. Singh, p.77.
18 Ms. Blochet 482, *BN*, f.80b.

chauki, the *faujdar* of the area was to replace it so that royal orders might not be delayed.[19]

When a new *faujdar* was appointed, he was advised to go out hunting, and ride horses so as to keep himself in a fit condition for taking the field promptly. This implies that *faujdars* could be employed in the areas of disturbances and military expeditions.[20] In the early years of Mughal conquest of Gujarat (1576-77), the fort of Sirohi was forced to submit due to the efforts of Tarsun Khan, *faujdar* of Patan.[21] Likewise, during Aurangzeb's reign (in 1663), the *Jam* of Navanagar was brought to heel through the endeavours of Qutbuddin Khan, *faujdar* of Sorath.[22]

Apart from their jurisdiction, *faujdars* were employed in the areas of disturbances, where the officer in charge of the place was not in a position to tackle the situation and requested the help from the headquarter.

In 1685, during the revolt of *Matias* and *Momnas* in Broach, rebels captured the fort of the place. In this situation, the *faujdar* of Baroda came to help the state authorities.[23] Akhbarat of Prince A'zam's headquarters furnish a number of instances where *faujdars* were employed to pacify disturbed areas, outside their jurisdiction. In 47th R.Y. of Aurangzeb, disturbances were reported from Munjpur and areas in the neighbour hood of Mahi Kantha, by Mustafa Quli Baig. Bahadur Shirani and other *faujdars* of the vicinity were ordered to suppress the rebels and restore law and order. These *faujdars*

19 *Mir'at*,I,p.335.This order was issued when due to non-availability of horses at Kalal Bagh and Shahpura,the *gurzbardars*(macebearers) had to cover a long distance on foot.

20 *Hidayat-al Qawai'd*, ff.16a-17b.

21 *Mir'at*, I, p.134.

22 '*Alamgirnama*, II, pp.768-778; Cf.*Mir'at*, I,p.254.

23 *Mir'at*, I, p.322-24. For *Matias* and *Momnas*,see M.S. Commissariat, *Studies in the History of Gujarat*, Delhi, 1987,pp.147-148.

included Mustafa Quli Baig of Petlad, Muhammad Khan of Sankhera, Saiyyid Muzaffar of Azamabad, Saiyyid Murad of Sanvali, Saiyyid Muhammad Ali of Kanjah, Iltifat Khan of Godhra, Mustafa Quli of Bahadurpur and Purdil Shirani of Baroda.[24] In 1704, Surat feared an attack from the Marathas and *mutasaddi* of Surat requested help from the *nazim* of Gujarat, Prince A'zam. *Faujdars* like Purdil Shirani of Baroda, Sayyid Kamal Khan of Idar and Modasa, Saiyyid Muzaffar of Azamabad and others proceeded to Surat to take field against Marathas.[25]

Another function of the *faujdars* was to deal with the *zamindars*, both submissive (revenue paying) as well as seditious (*zor-talab*).[26] He was directly responsible for the collection of land revenue from the *zor-talab* zamindars.[27] Khwaja Asadullah Baig, *faujdar-amin* of Dholka, brought Rs 12,000/- as *peshkash* collected from the *zamindars* of the area.[28] We also found, Amanullah Baig, *faujdar-i gird* presenting to the *nazim*, some *zamindars* who agreed to pay Rs 10,000/- as peshkash and got *khilat* in return.[29] Amanullah was also ordered to take bonds for tribute (*tamassukat-i zar-i peshkash*) from the *desais* of the vicinity of Ahmadabad.[30]

In 47th R.Y. of Aurangzeb, Muhammad Razai, *faujdar-amin* of Jhalawar, presented Rs 30,000/- as *peshkash* collected from the *zamindars* of his area and recommended service for a *zamindar* who was not able to come

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24 *Akhbarat* A, 38,39. Another example can be found in A,117.
25 *Akhbarat* A,174,175,186,223; Cf. *Mir'at*, I, p.356.
26 *Hidayat-al Qawa'id*, ff.16a-17b.
27 *Siyaq Nama*, p.68.
28 *Akhbarat* A, 126.
29 *Akhbarat* A, 66,68.
30 *Akhbarat* A, 192.

to the court. On this, *nazim* granted a *khilat* to the *faujdar* and sent another for the *zamindar*.[31]

Besides, accommodating submissive *zamindars* in the state service, *faujdars* had also to enlist their contingents to serve the *nazim* of *suba*. In 1664, on occasion of Shivaji's raid of Surat, the *faujdar* of Dholka, Idar etc came with contingents of *zamindars* of their areas to help the *nazim* Mahabat Khan in the projected campaign against the Marathas.[32]

Recalcitrant *zamindars* were main problem for the *faujdars*. In 47th R.Y. of Aurangzeb, *faujdar* of Dholka, Asadullah expelled the *zamindar*, Kishen Singh, from the area due to his rebellious activities who went to Jhalawar and Dhanduqa. To chastise him, the *faujdar* sought help from the *nazim* of the *suba*.[33]

Faujdars were also employed to collect the *peshkash* from the feudatory chiefs lying in the vicinity of the area of their posting. The *Akhbarat* show that the chief of Rajpipla principality (lying on Gujarat-Malwa border) did not pay *peshkash* regularly and willingly. *Faujdars* of Godhra, Baroda, Sanvali, Sankhera, Azamabad, Kajnah and Bahadurpur were ordered to undertake military expedition in order to ensure the collection of *peshkash* from the chief of Rajpipla. Eventually, Rs 32,000/- were collected from its chief as *peshkash*.[34] In the 47th R.Y. of Aurangzeb, a village, in *pargana* Chaurasi of Cambay port was assigned in *jagir* to a *mansabdar*. This village was said to be *zortalab* and *mahwasi* (rebellious) and *kolis*, and its inhabitants

31 *Akhbarat* A, 11.
32 *Mir'at*,I,p. 256.
33 *Akhbarat* A, 145.
34 *Akhbarat* A, 12,13, 14,16,23,86.

indulged in highway robbery (*rah-zani*).Saiyyid Murad, *faujdar* of Sanvali, who had *thana* in the nearby place, was expected to sack the village, to take security (*zamin*) from the rebels and leave his contingent so that land revenue could be collected.[35]

It seems that from the beginning, the bigger *jagirdars* were given *faujdari* jurisdictions within their *jagirs* and under Aurangzeb this was certainly the general practice.[36] In Gujarat, too, this practice was quite prevalent and many examples can be quoted. In 1654, two brothers Shamsuddin and Qutbuddin, sons of Nazar Bahadur Kheshgi were made *jagirdar* and *faujdar* of Junagadh (Sorath).[37]In 1669, Sardar Khan was the *faujdar* and *jagirdar* of Sorath.[38] This practice seriously reduced the powers of the imperial *faujdar*, for he was not entitled to interfere in the affairs of these *jagirs*.

In the revenue administration, after the collection of revenue, it was the duty of the *faujdar* to arrange for its safe convoy to the provincial head quarter. In 1704, Durga Das Rathor, *faujdar* of Patan, sent revenue (*mahsul*) amounting to Rs 50,000/- of the current year under the protection of his contingent to the provincial headquarter.[39]

It was also the duty of the *faujdar* to see that his subordinates and other local officials did not molest or oppress the people. We can cite the example of *pargana* Dholka which was a *khalsa* territory. In 1704 *faujdar* of Dholka through an *arzdasht* (memorandum) brought to the notice of *nazim* the acts of

35 *Akhbarat* A, 75, 84.
36 *Agrarian System*, p.339.
37 *Mir'at*, I, p.231.
38 *Ibid*. p.276.
39 *Akhbarat* A,95; Cf. *Mir'at*, supplt. 199.

oppression committed by the *darogha-i rasad* on peasants as a result of which said *pargana* became desolate and therefore demanded dismissal of the *darogha*. Subsequently, orders were issued for the recall of that official.[40]

On his appointment, every *faujdar* was advised to provide justice to the oppressed.[41] From the *Akhbarat* of Prince A‘zam, we can find instances of *faujdar* providing justice to the oppressed. There are numerous references to the hunting expeditions organized for Prince A‘zam, *nazim* of suba. On one occasion, preparations for hunting, caused destruction to the property and crops of people estimated at Rs 6,000/- and 7,000/- respectively in a village of Kadi *pargana*. The culprits were Muhammad Umar Muhammad Usman, servants of *khanazad* (officer belonging to an old serving family) employed in the establishment (*sarkar*) of Prince A‘zam. Amanullah Baig, *faujdar-i gird* presented their case before the *nazim* who ordered the victims to be compensated from the pay of the *khanazad*.[42]

The *faujdar* had also to furnish information about state of the affairs in his jurisdiction whenever enquired by the higher authorities. Once, Prince A‘zam wanted to go on a hunting expedition in the Dholka area. The Prince enquired about the state of crops, whether they had removed from the field or not. The *faujdar* of Dholka, Asadullah Baig informed that crops are not yet removed from the fields. In view of this, A‘zam postponed his hunting expedition.[43]

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40 *Akhbarat* A, 103.
41 *Hidayat-al Qawai'd*, ff.16a-17b.
42 *Akhbarat* A, 146.
43 *Akhbarat* A, 52, 54.

In the *Akhbarat*, we encounter a number of complaints against the *faujdars* of the *suba* of their negligence of duty, oppression and irregularities. These complaints are both collective as well as individual in nature.

Amanullah Baig, *faujdar-i gird*, presented a general complaint against *faujdars* and *thanadars* of the *suba* who had left their areas of posting as a result of which rebels had become active everywhere.[44] In one case, Allah Yar Baig, *faujdar* of *pargana* Munda was sitting at home in Ahmadabad and not attending his duty.[45]

The *muqaddams* and peasants of *pargana* Baroda presented their grievances against the oppression committed by the *faujdar*, Purdil Shirani of their area before the *nazim* through the *darogha-i adalat*, Shaikh Ghulam. They warned that if *faujdar* was not replaced they would proceed to the imperial court.[46]

There were also complaints by individuals against *faujdars* of Sorath, Palanpur, Patan and Baroda. In all cases, money was exacted by the *faujdar* from the complainants.[47]

In one complaint against Durga Das Rathor, *faujdar* of Patan, brought by Mulla Muhammad, a *wazifa* holder, it was alleged that the said *faujdar* had encroached on his land of *wazifa*. Therefore, a *nishan* was ordered to be issued to the *faujdar* to return the land to the sufferer.[48]

There seems to have been a general tendency on the part of the state officials to exact many types of cesses from the people especially merchants

44 *Akhbarat* A, 228.
45 *Akhbarat* A, 133.
46 *Akhbarat* A, 226.
47 *Akhbarat* A, 127,132,145,146.
48 *Akhbarat* A, 113.

in spite of imperial orders forbidding it. The *suba* of Gujarat presents no different picture. At times, *faujdar* and officials of the state were found misusing their authority and exacting cesses from the people. De Jongh, a Dutch factor who served in Gujarat,(writing in 1629) says, "All merchants put particularly the Dutch, English and Portuguese, must make friends of these inspectors[*faujdars*] because their letters of recommendations are indispensable for all ordinary journeys with merchandise, in order to travel without being molested by the garrisons, posted at different places on the road; without letters from these inspectors, or from Governors, it would be impossible to pass without paying guard fees, or[?] *chauki* as they say;".[49] In 1667-68, Kamal Jalori, the *faujdar* of Palanpur, for realizing *abwab* such as *gau-chara'i* and *khurak-i aspan* (fodder for horses), was warned to desist at pain of punishment.[50] Some examples in this regard can also be cited from the *Akhbarat* of Prince A'zam.

A complaint was made that the peasants bringing grain from Petlad had to pay Rs 2/- per cart as *rahdari* to the *nakadars* and *chaukidars* stationed by the *faujdar* of the environs (*gird*) of Ahmadabad. Consequently, *faujdar-i gird*, Amanullah Baig was directed not to exact this levy and withdraw *nakas* and *chaukis*. [51]Mustafa Quli Baig, *faujdar* and *mutasaddi* of *pargana* Kadi was alleged to have exacted Rs 10/- as *kacheri* from the people of *pargana*.[52]

In 47th R.Y. of Aurangzeb, *faujdar* of *pargana* Barasinor in *sarkar* Ahmadabad, Saiyyid Gadai was transferred as a result of complaint made by

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49 De Jongh, pp 75-76.
50 *Mir'at*,I, p.275.
51 *Akhbarat* A, 77, 78; *Mir'at*, I, pp.259-64 contains Aurangzeb's *farman* of 1665 which lists and forbids a number of exactions reported from Gujarat especially at and around Ahmadabad.
52 *Akhbarat* A, 5, 10, 12.

the *mutasaddis* and people of the *pargana* in connection of exaction of prohibited cesses(*abwab-i mannu‘a*) by the said officer. Salabat Khan Babi, son of Safdar Khan Babi was made new *faujdar* of the place.[53]

In the Mughal Empire, there was a body of officials known as *waqai navis, sawanih-nigar* and *harkarah* (i.e. the official news reporters and spies) who were charged with reporting cases of irregularities and acts of oppression. On the appointment of a new *faujdar*, he was advised to conciliate the local *waqai-navis, sawanih-nigar* and *harkarah* in order that they may always write their reports of occurrences in a manner leading to their advancement.[54] But we do find instances in the *Akhbarat* of Prince A‘zam, where these officials had reported about the absence of law and order in the areas of *faujdars* of *suba* Gujarat. On one occasion, the *waqai-nigar* of *pargana* Senore (in Baroda *sarkar*) reported about deteriorating law and order in the *pargana* and shortage of contingent. In consequence of this, *faujdar* of *pargana* Saiyyid Lutfullah was warned of action.[55]Reports of lawless condition and anarchy in the jurisdiction of Saiyyid Kamal Khan, *faujdar* of Idar and Modasa reached the provincial headquarter.[56]Through the reports of *harkara, nazim* of *suba,* Prince A‘zam came to know about the prevailing conditions of insecurity in and around Ahmadabad and people’s sufferings due to the increase of thefts and exactions of the subordinates of the Amanullah Baig, *faujdar-i gird*. Consequently, the concerned officer i.e. Amanullah Baig was ordered to take measures to improve the situation.[57]

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53 *Akhbarat* A, 111,112,114,116,117,131.
54 *Hidayat-al Qawai’d*, ff.16a-17b.
55 *Akhbarat* A, 222.
56 *Akhbarat* A, 66.
57 *Akhbarat* A, 78,79,80,84.

Chapter VII

Judicial Administration

JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION

Under the Mughals, there were two agencies in the *suba* to administer justice. One was the *subadar* who acted on the judicial powers delegated to him by the Emperor. The second was the provincial *qazi* to whose court cases pertaining to religion, criminal and civil would be mostly handed over.[1] It is surprising that when Akbar divided his Empire into twelve provinces in the 24th regnal year and appointed a governor, a *diwan*, a *bakhshi*, a *mir 'adl*, a *sadr*, a *kotwal*, a *mir bahr* and a *waqia navis* to every province, the *qazi* was not apparently provided for.[2] Arif Qandhari only refers to the appointment of *shahna-i 'adalat* in every place.[3] The contemporary chronicles, however, refer to the *qazi-i suba*; and his appointment, dismissal and transfer is often mentioned. When *qazi* Yaqub, the chief *qazi* of the realm, lost his favour with Akbar, he was demoted to the rank of the *qazi* of Bengal province. Abdullah Sultanpuri was appointed as *qazi* of Punjab and Qazi Ghazanfar Samarqandi was appointed *qazi* of Gujarat.[4] In the succeeding reigns, the post of the provincial *qazi* continued.[5] In AH 1108/1696-97 Qazi Abul Farah was *qazi* of the *suba* Gujarat.[6] In provincial judicial administration, *qazi-i suba* was one reckoned as one of the four great officers of the *suba* and took his seat at the provincial capital.[7] The appointment of the *qazi-i suba* was made by the Emperor through the office and with the seal of the *sadru-s sudur*.[8]

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1 *Mir'at*,I, pp.277-83,309; *Mir'at*, supplt. p. 174.
2 *Akbarnama*, III, p.413.
3 Arif Qandhari, p.99.
4 *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, II, p.463.
5 *Mir'at*,I,pp.298,309,310,324,334.
6 *Ibid*.p.334.
7 *Mir'at*, supplt. p.81.
8 *Ibid*. p.174.

The *qazi-i suba* was the provincial *qazi* as well as the *qazi* of the capital city of the *suba*.[9] Sometimes, he was also given charge of one or more *parganas* or towns. For instance, the *qazi* of Ahmadabad was sometimes concurrently appointed *qazi* of Sarkhej.[10]

In the judicial administration as prevailed under the Mughals, there was a provision of appointment of *qazi* to every town, *sarkar*, *pargana* and village having a sufficiently big population. In Mughal Gujarat, *qazis* were appointed in the various administrative units on a regular basis. In 1630-31, Maulana Hamid was appointed as *qazi* of *qasba* Nariad in Ahmadabad *sarkar*.[11] During Prince A'zam's tenure as Governor of Gujarat, a *saiyyidzada* was appointed as *qazi* of Birpur (in *sarkar* Ahmadabad).[12] Muhammad Fakhrul Islam was *qazi* of city Patan (*balda-i Patan*).[13] In 46th R.Y. of Aurangzeb, Mirza Baig was appointed as *qazi* of *sarkar* Sorath.[14] *Qazis* were also appointed to the tributary states of the Hindu chiefs where there was sufficiently large population of Muslims, for instance Rajpipla in Nadaut. [15]

As a general rule, in the selection of suitable candidates for the appointment to the office of *qazi*, considerations of high learning, integrity and otherwise suitability were probably subjected to the hereditary claims of

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9 For his powers and functions, see Chapter 4 'City Administration: Ahmadabad'.
10 *Ibid.*
11 Ms. Blochet, 482,*BN*,ff.99a-99b.
12 *Akhbarat* A, 22,28.
13 *Akhbarat* A,125.
14 *Akhbarat* A,28.
15 *Mir'at*, supplt.p.233.

the famous families of the *qazis*.[16] In 1635-36, Saiyyid Qazi Ali was let to hold the post of *qazi* of Surat city as usual.[17]

Theoretically, a *qazi* was expected to be conversant with law and religious sciences and required to be firm and orthodox in religious belief.[18] The duties of a *qazi* and his qualifications are set out in one official document issued on the appointment of a *qazi* for Surat.[19]

There existed no bar to the appointment of a person as *qazi* of his home town. During the reign of Shahjahan, Qazi Wahhab served as the *qazi* of Patan to which he belonged, for a long time.[20]

There was imperial regulation about the office work of the *qazis*. About 1671 the Emperor Aurangzeb learnt that the *qazis* of the *suba* of Gujarat used to sit in their offices on only two days in the week, while on two other days (viz. Tuesday and Wednesday) they attended the governor's office, and treated the remaining three days of the week as holidays. The Emperor wrote to the *diwan* of the province, "This way of doing work is not practice at the imperial court or in any other *suba*, and therefore there is no reason why it should be so in Gujarat. The *diwan* was ordered to urge the *qazis* to sit in their offices on Saturday, Sunday, Monday, Tuesday and Thursday, i.e., five days, while on Wednesday they should attend the *subadar,* and Friday alone should be a holiday. [21]

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16 Muhammad Hashim Khafi Khan, *Muntakhabu-t* Lubab, ed. Kabir al-Din Ahmad and W. Haig, 2 vols. Bib. Ind. Calcutta, 1860-64, II, p.636.

17 Ms Blochet 482 *BN* f.128a.

18 *Hidayat-ul Qawa'id*, f.20.

19 Ms. Blochet 482 *BN*, ff.224a-225a.

20 *Ma'asir-ul Umara*,I,pt.I,p.236.

21 *Mir'at*, I, p.275.

The *Mir'at* states that the *qazi* of a town, beside his *zat* and *sawar* rank was allotted 20 *sawars* on condition of service.[22] The retainers of the *qazi* were also paid by the state. *Qaziu-l Quzat.* Khwaja Abdullah once (in 1682) informed Aurangzeb that the retainers of the judiciary (*'adalat*), *kacheri* and *diwani* at Ahmadabad worked without pay. So they extorted money from the natives of the place and gave them trouble. Even on highways and roads they extracted money from people. Aurangzeb issued an order to the *diwan* of Ahmadabad asking him to keep an eye on the activities of those foot soldiers that were not in service and to restrain the foot soldiers from extracting money from the people. He also ordered an enquiry into the conduct of those who were reported to be guilty of illegal extortions.[23]

Under Mughals, the chief duty of a *qazi* was that of adjudication. He was to settle disputes and punish offenders in accordance with the provisions of *shari'at.*

In civil matters, no property transaction could be considered legally valid and enforceable unless and until it was registered in the court of *qazi*. In other words, all the property transactions, whether sale deeds (*bainamas*), gift deeds (*hiba-namas*), or transfer deeds (*tamlik-namas*) were to be registered with the local *qazi* irrespective of religion or community. In this regard, for the port of Cambay, we have ample information in a collection of contemporary documents(henceforth cited as Cambay Documents) found in the National Archives of India (New Delhi).[24] For instance, in 1657, Kesava

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22 *Mir'at* supplt. p.174.
23 *Mir'at*, I, p.319.
24 These documents were first brought to notice by Jawaid Akhtar who introduced six of them in an article entitled, 'Merchants and Urban Property: A Study of Cambay Documents of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', in K.D.Bajpai, Rajesh Jamindar and P.K.Trivedi eds.

and his sister, Prembai, sold their house in Cambay for 485 rupees to their nephews, Tulsidas and Kasidas. This was a transaction within the extended family but it was registered with the local *qazi*.[25] Another instance was of Rajbai and Imradi, both Hindu women who jointly sold their house in Cambay in the year 1657 to a person named Kanjiva, got this sale-deed registered in the court of local *qazi*.[26]

Civil suits of different types were also regularly brought to the *qazi*'s court.[27] In 1631, Ladjiva filed a suit in the *qazi*'s court against his uncle, concerning a dispute over two houses in Surat.[28] In 1614, a person referred as a Saiyid filed a suit against one Abdul Ali in Surat alleging that he had encroached on the passage to his house.[29] In a mid seventeenth century collection of local documents, there is a civil suit filed by a group of Muslims in Surat against a Hindu merchant, who had purchased land over which there was originally a mosque. The mosque was attached to the mansion (*haveli*) of a noble, mentioned as 'Khwaja'. In subsequent time, the mosque was destroyed and the noble sold the land on which it stood to the merchant. The *qazi* upheld the submission of the plaintiffs and revoked the sale deed on grounds that the land was inalienable, since it belonged to the mosque and was thus a joint property of all Muslims.[30]

Gleanings of Indian Archeaology,History and Culture, Jaipur, 2000, pp.334-38. These documents are classified under two series of acquired documents, numbering 2695 and 2702.There are over fifty documents, with the earliest, 2695/1, belonging to 1657 and the last,2695/34 to 1761.

25 *Ibid*., 2695/6.

26 *Ibid*., 2695/1.

27 The formal procedure for filing a suit before the *qazi* is discussed in S.A. Nadeem Rezavi, 'Civil Law and Justice in Mughal Gujarat', *PIHC*, 54th session Mysore, 1993,New Delhi, 1994, pp.188-99.

28 Ms.Blochet, 482 *BN*,ff.207b-208a.

29 *Ibid*., ff.231b-232a.

30 *Ibid*., ff.235a-235b.

Disputes regarding inheritance were also brought to the court of *qazi*. In 1661, a case was filed at the court of the *qazi* in Cambay involving a Hindu merchant household where conflict concerned their ancestral house.[31]

A woman, Fatima, represented at the court of the *qazi* in Surat that one of her father's slave forcibly married her mother, while on a trading venture to Achin, in which her father died. Now both the slave and her mother had died so the entire estate of the deceased (of her father) should pass on to her, instead of the two sons of the slave.[32]

If a case was not solved in local *qazi*'s court, then it was referred to Imperial Court. In a case, mentioned in mid 17th century collection of local documents, a group of Muslims lodged a complaint against a Hindu woman. The details of the case are as follows: In the famine of 1631-32, four shops whose rent income had been reserved for the upkeep of a mosque were sold to a Hindu merchant. On the death of the purchaser, his spouse refused to pay the rent of the shops on the grounds that her husband had bought them. The matter was referred to the *qazi*, who ordered the woman to pay the rent of one of the four shops, for the maintenance of the mosque. She consequently agreed to do so, but declined to pay the arrears. The matter was then placed before the Emperor, who ordered her to pay not just the arrears, but also the rent of all the four shops, since the sale deed was illegal.[33]

Qazis were also to decide cases relating to debt. Debtors were imprisoned after the claims of the creditors were established and inability of

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31 Cambay Documents, NAI, 2695/4.
32 Ms.Blochet,482,*BN*, ff226a-227b.
33 *Ibid.*, ff.47b-48b.

the former to pay his debt was proved before a *qazi*. During Aurangzeb's reign, in Ahmadabad, *faujdar-i gird* was instructed not to interfere in the disputes regarding debt and let the *qazi* of the place to decide the matter according to the rules.[34] In 46th regnal year of Aurangzeb, in Ahmadabad a *sarraf* named Tulsi Das lodged a complaint that he had a claim of Rs.4, 000 against Lal Das who did not pay in spite of his signed bond in possession of the plaintiff. Order was issued to *faujdar* Amanullah Beg that the plaintiff be sent to the *qazi* for decision of the case according to *shari'at*.[35]

Serious criminal cases were also heard and disposed of by *qazi* of the place.[36]In 1672, Aurangzeb issued a *farman* relating to the various types of penalties to be imposed on persons found guilty of different offences.[37] In it, no less than thirty-three categories of crimes had been recapitulated and the punishments for them indicated, thus constituting what may be characterized as a miniature Penal Code of the Mughal Empire. According to this *farman*, cases relating to theft, highway robbery, strangulation, or the felonious killing of people were to be decided by *qazi* of the place. If the person who had been proved guilty of theft by testimony or by his own confession before the *qazi*, the punishment should be applied to him in the *qazi*'s presence and should remain in prison till he repents. *Qazi* was also to prescribe punishment against adulterers, drinkers, servants, slaves escaped from masters, etc.[38] But like the *nazim* of the *suba*, *qazis* were not allowed to inflict capital punishment on anyone.[39] Further, prisoners confined for rebellion and disturbances at the

34 *Akhbarat* A, 14.
35 *Akhbarat* A,117
36 De Jongh, *JIH*, p.76.
37 *Mir'at*, I, pp.277-83.
38 *Ibid*.
39 Ovington, p.138.

discretion of executive officers could not be freed by the *qazi*. Once, during the reign of Aurangzeb, in Ahmadabad, some *grasias* were imprisoned at *chabutra-i kotwali* for seditious behaviour. These prisoners were released by the *qazi* Abdullah. For this, the Emperor reprimanded the *diwan* and ordered him to see that in future the mistake was not repeated.[40]

Qazi's role was also crucial in the organization of trade and commerce, as well. He settled disputes between the merchants and artisans. He registered contracts and agreements between merchants, and his seal on their mutual agreements not only rendered the agreement indefeasible, but also brought it under the protection of state. He verified and attested copies of agreements and contracts. Tolls were levied on goods in transit after a valuation made by the *qazi* of the place.[41] *Qazi* was also known to mediate on behalf of the merchants with the state, on such issues as taxation, removal of a corrupt officer and fixation of prices.[42]

In the discharge of his functions, the *qazi* was assisted by a deputy (*na'ib*). His office was more or less hereditary in nature. In one document, the office of *na'ib qazi* is described as 'a hereditary office' (*'uhda-i tan*).[43] However, in exceptional circumstances, hereditary claims to the office could be set aside. In 1646, the imperial court dismissed the heirs of the deceased *na'ib qazi* in the *qasba* of Navsari, in *sarkar* Surat, Taj Muhammad, from 'hereditary office' (*'uhda-i tan*) on the grounds that they were ignorant of

40 *Mir'at*, I, p.304.
41 Palsaert, p.43; Ms. Blochet 482, ff.152b-153a.
42 *EFI* 1637-41, pp.106-107; *EFI* 1622-23, pp.40, 320; J.Ovington, pp.136-137; *EFI* 1618-21, pp.269,273.
43 Ms.Blochet, 482, BN, ff.172b-173a.

religious knowledge and bereft of the ability to distinguish the lawful from the unlawful.[44]

Sometimes, the office of *qazi* was a source of corruption and persecution. In one instance, the residents of Surat and Broach secured the dismissal of their *qazi*, Nasir Muhammad, on the grounds that he was corrupt and incompetent.[45] In 1669, in Surat, under coercion of the local *qazi*, a nephew of Tulsidas Parekh, an influential local merchant, was made to convert to Islam, and another bania merchant committed suicide to escape. To protest against these incidents about 8,000 *banias* left Surat for Broach, ‘leaving their wives and children in under the charge of their brothers and the next of kin.’[46]

After the *qazi*, the next important judicial officer was the *mir‘adl*. Abul Fazl does not deem his appointment essential and conditions it on the *qazi* not being able to do the full work of his calling, hence the need of appointing two persons; one to determine the facts and pass judgment, and other to carry out his decisions.[47] This implies that *mir‘adl* was an associate of the *qazi*.

When Akbar divided the Empire into provinces in the 24th year of his reign, the post of *mir ‘adl* was included in the list of officials of the provinces.[48] According to P.Saran, here there is no mention of *qazi*, which clearly indicates that the post was combined either with that of the *sadr* or of the *mir ‘adl*.[49]

44 *Ibid.*, ff.172b-173a.
45 Ms.Blochet, 482,*BN*, ff.213a-213b.
46 *EFI*, 1668-69,pp.190-192.
47 *A’ in*, I, p.283.
48 *Akbarnama*, III, p.281.
49 *Provincial Government under Mughals*, pp.348-49.

It is quite surprising that the post of *mir ‘adl* does not find much mention in historical accounts of post Akbar period. But for the *suba* of Gujarat, we find its presence in the judicial administration. During Emperor Jahangir’s stay in Ahmadabad (in April-September 1618) he used to sit in *Jharako* for the sake of administering justice. Reason for this, he himself, writes, “As the men of this city are exceedingly weak-hearted and wretched, in order to guard against any of the men from the camp entering their houses with a view to oppress them, or interfering with affairs of the poor and miserable: and lest the *qazi* and *mir ‘adl* should, from fear of the face of men, temporize and not stop such oppression, I, from the date on which I entered the city, notwithstanding the heat of the air, everyday, after completing the midday prayer, went and sat in the *Jharoka*. It was towards the river, and had no impediment in the shape of gate, or wall, or watchmen (*yasawals*), or *chobdars* (mace-bearers). For the sake of administering justice, I sat there for two or three sidereal hours and listened to the cries for redress, and ordered punishments on the oppressors according to their faults and crimes.”[50]

Epigraphic evidence has also shown the existence of the post of *mir ‘adl* in the administrative set up of Gujarat province.[51] The Persian version of an epigraph (found at Siddhpur in North Gujarat) states that an officer named Askari had come to Siddhpur as a *mir ‘adl* in 1645-46 when Prince Aurangzeb was Governor of the province. According to the Sanskrit version,

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50 *Tuzuk*, pp.232.

51 Z.A.Desai has brought to light a bilingual inscription (Gujarati and Persian) from Siddhpur (Mehsana district) in North Gujarat. For details see Z.A.Desai, A Bilingual Inscription From Siddhpur in North Gujarat in Prof.K.D.Bajpai, Prof.Rasesh Jamindar, Dr.P.K.Trivedi (eds.),*Gleanings of Indian Archaeology, History and Culture*, Prof. Dr.R.N.Mehta Commemoration Volume,I,Jaipur,2000,pp.230-235.

this officer was appointed by Aurangzeb with an eye to justice, as *adali* at the place.[52]

In 1664, Aurangzeb issued a *farman* to Sardar Khan, *faujdar* of Sorath, ordering him to administer justice to people of the area in consultation with the *qazi*, *mir ʻadl* and *mufti* of the place. This *farman* came in wake of complaints by the people of area to the imperial court.[53]

From the above cited epigraph, it also appears that *mir ʻadl*'s responsibilities were not merely confined to administer, judge and decide judicial matters but he was also to expected to take steps for the welfare of different sections of the society. His sphere of duties was quite wide. After his appointment as *mir ʻadl* of Siddhpur in 1645-46, Askari in the following year constructed the market-place named ʻ*adl-ganj*' to enable people to carry on their trade and transactions smoothly without any loss or any hindrance. Sanskrit version states that the said officer made the local people happy with his attention and care and he dispelled their grief by constructing the *adl ganj* and a number of shops. The site on which the complex was built is stated in this version to have been desolate and much frequented by robbers. The local people were highly appreciative of his action and said that he had removed hardship of every one.[54]

Another officer called the *darogha-iʻadalat* came to be attached to the judiciary. The post of *darogha-iʻadalat* first finds mention under Shahjahan.[55]

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52 *Ibid*.
53 *Mir'at*, I, pp.257-258.
54 Z.A.Desai's paper in Prof.K.D.Bajpai, Prof.Rasesh Jamindar, Dr.P.K.Trivedi (eds.), *op.cit.*pp.230-235.
55 Lahori, I, p.150; Rafat M. Bilgrami, *Religious and Quasi-Religious Departments of the Mughal Period, 1556-1707,* New Delhi, 1984, p.112.

Kazim says that Aurangzeb had appointed *mir ‘adl* and *darogha-i ‘adalat* in order to bring “the oppressed and seekers of justice to the court to present the complaints before His Majesty.”[56]

In the provincial administrative set up of Gujarat, *darogha-i ‘adalats* were found in existence at provincial city of Ahmadabad and port city of Cambay.[57] According to Aniruddha Ray, at Cambay the *darogha-i ‘adalat* was the president of the court of equity and was originally intended to impart better justice to the Hindus. It is to this officer therefore the Hindus brought their cases in all matters pertaining to property, domestic affairs, deles etc.[58]

For *darogha-i ‘adalat* at Ahmadabad, we have numerous references in *Akhbarat* of Prince A‘zam. Evidence in *Akhbarat* regarding *darogha-i‘adalat’s* function reveals the fact that all sorts of complaints were constantly placed before the *nazim* through by then *darogha-i‘adalat* Ghulam Muhammad. These complaints covered a wide range of subjects like complaints of common people regarding exactions, illegal cesses by officials, of lower officials against higher officials etc. Peasants of *pargana* Kadi registered their complaint through *darogha-i ‘adalat* against the illegal cess collected by the *faujdar* of the place.[59] In another complaint, a person named Lal complained against exaction made by the *darogha-i katra parcha* Shaikh Muhammad Akram.[60] In another case, a *sahukar*, resident of *pargana*

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56 *Alamgirnama*,II, pp. 1076-77.

57 For Cambay, see S.Arasaratanam and Aniruddha Ray , *Masulipatnam and Cambay, A History of Two Port-Towns*, 1500-1800,New Delhi,1994, pp.134-35.

58 *Ibid*.

59 *Akhbarat* A, 5, 12.

60 *Akhbarat* A, 18.

Munjpur (in *sarkar* Patan) brought a charge against *faujdar* of Patan who had exacted ten thousand rupees from him.[61]

It seems that *darogha-i'adalat*'s services were not free and nominal cess was collected by him to present people's grievances before the *nazim* and other state authorities. The realization from this cess was not significant. In one fiscal year, in the early eighteenth century, the income collected by *darogha-i'adalat* amounted to Rs 3000 in port city of Cambay.[62]

It seems that Aurangzeb in his last year abolished the post of *darogha-i 'adalat* in the provinces. He abolished it as it was considered "work for useless persons" (*kar-i be-karan*).[63]At this time, Mulla Ghalib was holding the post at Ahmadabad and he was dismissed, as the office had been abolished in the provinces.[64]But it appears that the office of *darogha-i adalat* remained in existence in *suba* Gujarat. From a later source, it is found that this officer was very much a part of the administration of port city of Cambay even after the abolition of this office by Aurangzeb.[65]

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61 *Akhbarat* A, 29.
62 *Mir'at ul Haqaiq*, f.94a.
63 *Mir'at*, I,p.371.
64 *Ibid.*
65 *Mir'at-ul Haqaiq*, f.94a; Aniruddha Ray, *op.cit*, pp.134-135.

Chapter VIII

Mint Administration

MINT ADMINISTRATION

In the 16th and 17th centuries, Gujarat ports were the main entry point of silver imports in the form of bullion and specie - to be converted into Mughal coins. It was first Cambay then Surat through which bullion came to India. Bullion imports into Mughal India at the close of the sixteenth century probably amounted to roughly Rs 2, 04, 71,768.[1]

As a result of oversea trade, Ahmadabad and Surat were successively the largest mints of the Empire - former in the last quarter of the sixteenth century (in Akbar's reign) and latter in the seventeenth century (during Shahjahan and Aurangzeb's reign).[2]

Mints in the Mughal Empire were a source of considerable income to the state, so their proper organization was an administrative necessity. For Abul Fazl, a thoughtful commentator on Akbar's administrative measures, the successful working of the mint was linked to the prosperity of the Empire. He thus devoted a detailed section of his work to the organization of the mint.[3]

In the formative phase of Mughal administration, monetary integration of the *suba* was attempted through a number of administrative and fiscal measures. On the eve of the Mughal conquest of Gujarat, the most prominent currency of the region was the *mahmudi,* a silver coin of 88 grains first issued by the Gujarat Sultan Mahmud Shah (1458-1511).At least four varieties of the

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1 *The Economy of Mughal India,* p.381.

2 For details see Aziza Hasan, 'Mints of the Mughal Empire, *PIHC*, 29th Session , Patiala 1967,Patna ,1968,pp.319-349; Shireen Moosvi, ' The Gujarat Ports and their Hinterland – An Economic Relationship, in Indu Banga *ed.Ports and their Hinterlands in India* (1700-1950), 1992, pp.121-129.

3 *A'in*, I, pp.12-23.

mahmudi, of different weights, fineness and exchange rates, all modeled on Mahmud's principal silver coin, were in circulation in various part of Gujarat in 1572-73.[4]

An imperial mint was settled at Ahmadabad immediately after Akbar's conquest of Gujarat in 1572-73 and the very first year of the annexation of the province saw the issue of gold *muhrs* and silver rupees bearing the Emperor's name, year issue, mint name and *Kalima* (Muslim creed).[5] It became the greatest mint of the empire in very short order. The silver rupees of Ahmadabad predominate in mixed hoards of Akbar's silver, in the same manner that rupees of Surat dominate hoards of Aurangzeb and the later Mughals.[6] That the new coin took deep root in popular usage was confirmed by an incident during the brief revolt and capture of Ahmadabad by the deposed Sultan of Gujarat, Muzaffar III, in AD 1583.To proclaim his restoration, he needed to strike silver coins of the exact shape and weight as the rupee of Akbar rather than the reputed *mahmudi* of his ancestors.[7]

In 1577-78, the mint administration in whole Mughal Empire was reorganized. Under this scheme, administration of silver mints was transferred from local functionaries (*Chaudharis*) to officials directly appointed by the Emperor. To Ahmadabad mint, Imaduddin Husain was appointed as *darogha*.[8]

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4 Najaf Haider, 'Mughals and Mahmudis: The Incorporation of Gujarat into the Imperial Monetary System in *PIHC*, 60th session , Calicut 1999, Aligarh 2000, pp.270-71.

5 G.P.Taylor, 'The Coins of Ahmadabad', *JBBRAS*,Vol.XX, 1902, pp.414-17.

6 J.F. Richards ed., *op.cit.*, p.28.

7 G.P.Taylor, 'On the Identity of the Gujarat Fabric and the Surat Mahmudi,'*JASB*, New Series, I, 10(1902), *Numismatic Supplement*,VI, 413; J.F.Richards ed., *op.cit.*, p.28.

8 *Akbarnama*,, III, p.227.

From 1582 onwards, a series of fiscal and monetary measures were undertaken by the Mughal state aimed at standardizing the monetary system and integrating the regional currencies.[9]

In 1592, an imperial order was issued to demonetize all precious metal coins of previous regimes.[10] Under this scheme, massive conversions of *mahmudis* of Gujarat took place at Ahmadabad mint.[11]

The end result of these measures could be seen in the Ahmadabad region. By the end of the sixteenth century, in the *sarkar* of Ahmadabad, which housed both the capital city of the province and a mint, the rupee had become the sole medium of exchange to the total exclusion of *mahmudis.*[12]

The imperial monetary system did not penetrate in the southern Gujarat till the early decades of the seventeenth century. In the cities of Surat, Broach and Baroda (in southern Gujarat) local currency of previous regime, *mahmudi* was still the sole currency of exchange and the money of account.[13] The reason for the continued circulation of *mahmudis* in southern Gujarat was two fold. One view forwarded is that the volume of coin production in the Ahmadabad mint was not much as to supply rupees to the entire province.[14]

Further, much of the supply of the Surat *mahmudi* came from the autonomous principality of Baglana whose ruler had accepted the overlord

9 All these measures are dealt elaborately by Najaf Haider in his article, 'The Monetary Integration of India under the Mughal Empire', in I.Habib, ed. *India- Studies in the History of an Idea*, Delhi, 2005,pp.129-143.

10 *A'in*, I, pp.284,289; Badauni, III, p. 380.

11 Najaf Haider, 'The Monetary Integration of India under the Mughal Empire', in ed. I.Habib *op.cit.* p.136.

12 *Letters Received*, vol. III, p.11.

13 *Ibid*., vol. I, p.34; Also see Thomas Best, *The voyage of Thomas Best to the East Indies*,1621-14, ed. William Foster, Hakluyt Society, 1934, p.35.

14 Najaf Haider,'Mughals and Mahmudis', *op.cit.*, p.274.

ship of Akbar. Its ruler was allowed to retain his possession on the condition of granting safe passage to merchant caravans through the northern cities of his principality.[15] He was also granted permission to mint *mahmudis* in the name of the Mughal Emperor. These *mahmudi* coins bore Akbar's legends and dates from AH 985(1577-78) to 1027(AD 1617-18).[16] Further, as a policy of matter, at this time, Mughals were not bent on extending their imperial monetary system to southern Gujarat.[17] The rulers of Baglana continued to strike these coins as late as 1638 when their kingdom was annexed.[18]

A policy change took place with the commissioning of the Imperial mint at Surat from 1620 onwards to strike rupees on a regular basis.[19] It was in response to the shifting of maritime trade in the western Indian Ocean from the Gulf of Cambay towards the coast of Surat with the arrival of the Dutch and the English East India Companies.[20] Soon, it replaced the Ahmadabad as the largest mint of the region.[21]

Beside this, a full military campaign was launched against Jam of Navanagar who used to supply *mahmudis* in the large area stretching from Kathiawar to Ahmadabad.[22]It may be recalled that rulers (Jam) of the Navanagar were granted permission to mint coins by the Sultan Mahmud Shah III (1538-54) which they continued till the reign of Jahangir. During

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15 W.H. Moreland, *From* Akbar to *Aurangzeb*, 1999, Delhi, p. 288.

16 J.F.Richards, *op.cit.*, pp.198-99.

17 Najaf Haider, 'Mughals and Mahmudis', *0p.cit.*, pp.270-284.

18 *Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics*, pp.115-130.

19 Akbar had also set up a mint in Surat but it was closed for a time to be reopened in 1620: *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, p.176.

20 Shireen Moosvi, The Gujarat Ports and their Hinterland, in Indu Banga ed. *op.cit.*pp.121-129;Najaf Haider, Precious Metal Flows and Currency Circulation in the Mughal Empire, *JESHO*, XXXIX, 3, pp.289-304.

21 *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, *op.cit.*,pp.174-178.

22 *Mir'at*, supplt.219-20.

A'zam Khan's governorship (in 1641) in the wake of military campaign, the ruler of Jam offered his allegiance and consented to overthrow the mint.[23]

During the reign of Shahjahan, the political offensive (1641) against the Jam of Navanagar to shut down the mint and stifle the supply of the local coin (*mahmudi*) was preceded as well as followed, by the decision to establish an imperial mint at Junagadh for the sole purpose of melting *mahmudis* (*bar gudaz mahmudi*) and recoining them into rupees.[24] But this experiment was found to affect adversely the royal mint at Ahmadabad. According to the author of the *Mir'at*, the experiment failed and the mint was discontinued on the advice of the *diwan* of the *suba*, Mir Sabir. According to him, "in view of convenience and cost effectiveness (*nazr bar suhulat wa kifayat*), merchants started coining their gold and silver, brought at Diu, there [Junagarh] rather than taking them to Ahmadabad [mint]".[25] But the mint at Junagadh continued to strike rupees and hence controvert the textual evidence of its discontinuance.[26]

Under Shahjahan, another active mint was at Cambay. Earlier, under Jahangir, we meet, for the first time, with reference to a distinctively Cambay coinage, which was issued probably not for currency purposes but merely in commemoration of the Emperor Jahangir's visit to the city.[27] The earliest known coin from the Cambay mint is a rupee of the *hijri* year 1051(AD 1641).[28]It developed to be a very important mint in 1675-84. Aziza Hasan has

23 Lahori,II,pp.231-32; *Mir'at*, I,p.214.

24 *Mir'at*, I, p.214; *Ibid.*supplt.pp.211-212.

25 *Mir'at*,I,p.214.

26 Mints of the Mughal Empire, *op.cit.*, p.337; Najaf Haider, Mughals and Mahmudis,pp.282-283.

27 *Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics*, *op.cit.*, pp.173-176.

28 G.P.Taylor, Mughal Coins of Cambay, Numismatic Supplement,No.XX, *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*,VIII,1912,p.544.

showed there was a great increase in the share of Cambay mint from 1666-74, which was also witnessed in the two decades (1685-1703). This increase, it seems, was at the expense of Surat. Minting at Surat mint was not speedy enough to satisfy the needs of the merchants of that city. Sometimes, especially during the reign of Aurangzeb, the mint at Surat remained closed for sometime due to Maratha raids.[29]

During the reign of Aurangzeb, the principality of Navanagar was annexed over a dispute over succession.[30] The name of Navanagar was changed to Islamnagar and in its mint, *mahmudis* was to be melted and reminted into rupees.[31]

In Mughal Empire, mints had the twin functions of minting bullion (gold or silver) or copper, and reminting the old coins that had lost value either by age or by loss of weight or both.[32] As a rule, the government compelled the reminting of old coins by either not normally accepting them in payments to the treasury, or by doing so only at a discount (*batta*).[33] For every year, subsequent to the year of issue recorded on the coin, a percentage was deducted from its value irrespective of the actual loss of weight. Besides the factor of age, the loss in weight also caused a discount for which the government as well as the market had set rates. Abul Fazl says that after a number of experiments the discount rates fixed for old rupee were as follows – a loss in weight up to one *rati* was ignored and the coin treated as equal to

29 Mints of the Mughal Empire, *op.cit.*pp.327, 329.

30 For details see Chapter Tributary Chiefs.

31 *Mir'at*, supplt.p.220.

32 For a general discussion of Mughal currency system, see I.Habib, Currency System of the Mughal Empire, *Medieval India Quarterly*, 1961, Aligarh, IV, pp.1-21.

33 *A'in*, I, p.289; Also see Shireen Moosvi (tr.) Aurangzeb's *Farman* to Rasikdas on Problems of Revenue Administration, 1665 in *Medieval India*, I,Delhi,1992, p.204 clause 8.

40 *dams*; in case of loss between one *rati* and two *ratis*, the discount amounted to one dam or 2.5 per cent and the coin fetched 39 dams. Further, if the loss exceeded two *ratis*, the coin was treated as bullion.[34] These discount rates were slightly revived during Aurangzeb's reign through 2 orders issued in 1692-3 and 1696-7 to Gujarat which lay down that the coin short in weight up to 3 *ratis* was to be treated as bullion and required reminting.[35] The shortage of new currency and fall in weight of the old coins often enabled the *sarrafs* to unilaterally increase the market discount rates for their own profit which they acquired by continuing the old currency in circulation. It caused, according to the *Mir'at*, a great loss to the public and therefore necessitated the issue of these orders. The *diwan* of Gujarat was repeatedly required to take bonds from the *sarrafs* that they would strictly follow the official rates and bring the *chalani* rupee, which was short in weight below 3 *ratis*, to the mint.[36]

The factor of age or weight or both thus accounted for the old currency inevitably undergoing remitting for which the total charges amounted to 5.6 per cent.[37]

The seigniorage and mint charges (*mahsul-i daru-l zarb*) levied by Mughals were not realized through mixing alloy in the coin but charged separately on those who wanted to convert their bullion into specie. From Abu-l Fazl's statement it appears that in the case of the rupee the total charge

34 *A'in*, I,pp.28-29.
35 *Mir'at*, I, pp.327,337.
36 *Ibid.*
37 *A'in*, I, p.32.

amounted to about 5.6 per cent of the net amount coined;[38]and there is evidence that it remained about the same during the later period.[39] But, in 1676, it was abolished by Aurangzeb.[40]The abolition remained in force for only five years and the tax was reintroduced throughout the empire in 1681, now set at three different rates viz. 5 percent charged from Hindu merchants, 3.5 from Europeans and 2.5 percent from Muslims. An order of the *subadar* of Gujarat, dated 1682, stated that the tax realized on all the gold and silver bullion (*hasil i tala wa nuqra ghair maskuk*) sold by the merchants to the mints of the province should be at the rate of "two [in] forty" (*chahal do*) for the Hindus and "one [in] forty" (*chahal yak*) for the Muslims.[41]

Mints in the Mughal Empire were a source of considerable income to the state. In cities for the collection of mint dues, it constituted a separate *mahal* and formed a part of the *mahalat-i sa'ir balda* (urban taxes). In Ahmadabad, it was separate *mahal* and its annual income was estimated at Rs. 1, 54,362.5 (61, 74,500 dams).[42] In the later source, it was stood at Rs. 25,000(10, 00,000 dams).[43]

In Surat, the dues from mint were also a part of *sa'ir mahal* (trade taxes) which also included *mahals* like *Khushki mandi*(land transit checkpost), *furza* (customhouse), *Ghalla mandi* (grain market), *namaksar* (salt pans), *marammat jahazat* (ship building and repairing) and *furza-i*

38 *A'in*, I, p.32.

39 I.Habib, Currency System of Mughal Empire, *MIQ*, IV,1961,p.3.

40 *EFI* (NS), 1670-77,I, pp.282-83.

41 *Mir'at*, I,p.304.

42 *Mir'at*, supplt.p.183.

43 *Kaghzat-iMutafarriqa*, report in Persian on the Pre-British administrative system in Bengal, prepared by the Rai Rayan and the qanungos under the instructions from the Governor General in Council, Jan. 4, 1777, Add. 6586, Add. 6592, Rotograph No. 203, CAS, AMU, f.76b.

Broach(customhouse of Broach).[44] According to *Mir'at*, income from Surat mint was combined with dues from the *balda*, *bazaar* and *Ghalla mandi* forming a one *mahal* whose income was estimated at Rs.3,75,000(1,50,00,000 *dams*).[45] For Cambay mint, we have no information regarding its income for initial period. During the first half of eighteenth century, income from mint dues in Cambay amounted to Rs.50, 000.[46]

In Junagarh, mint also constituted a *mahal* where mint was established for melting *mahmudis*. According to *Mir'at*, its income amounted to Rs.2, 500(1, 00,000 *dams*).[47] In Islamnagar, the income from the mint was Rs.1, 250 (50,000 *dams*).[48]

In the seventeenth century, in Surat, the revenue of the mint was farmed to the merchants and officials along with the post of *mutasaddi* of Surat.[49] In 1629, it was held by Masih-uz Zaman. In 1639, Muiz-ul Mulk (Mir Musa) got governorship of port Surat on farm upon giving two lakhs of rupees more than his predecessor.[50] In 1641, English factors further inform us that the amount for which Mir Musa had farmed Surat with its mint and customhouse was seventy two lakhs of *mahmudis* per annum. But he had overestimated the produce of the port, for by 1641 he was short in paying the contracted money by 31 lakhs. He was therefore was dismissed from the post.[51]

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44 *Mir'at-ul Haqaiq*, f.99a.
45 *Mir'at*, supplt.p.223.
46 *Mir'at-ul Haqaiq,* f.94a.
47 *Ibid.* pp.211-212.;*Kaghzat-iMutafarriqa*, f.74a.
48 *Ibid.*p.220.
49 Ms Blochet *BN* f. 57a.
50 *EFI* 1637-41, pp.109-110.
51 *EFI* 1637-41,pp.XXVI-XXVII,207.

Revenues from Surat mint was also assigned in *jagir*. In 1644, Princess Jahan Ara was assigned *sarkar* of Surat in *jagir* which supposed to yield annual revenue of seven and a half lakhs of rupees, with its port yielding another two and a half lakh rupees.[52] In this was also included the revenue from mint as well.[53]

Under Mughals, the mints used to have quite large establishment involving a large number of officers and workers. About mint at Surat, John Fryer (visiting India in 1675) says, "Over-against the Custom-house is a stately Entrance into the Mint, which is a large Town of Offices within it self".[54]

The superintendent of the mint was known as *darogha-i daru-l zarb*. The English Factors used to call him the 'mint master'.[55] He was appointed by a *sanad* bearing the seal of finance minister (*diwan-i 'ala'*) and at the recommendation of the provincial *diwan*. According to Ashin Das, in Surat administration, the appointment of the *darogha* of the mint of Surat was within the patronage of the governor of the place, which was usually kept within the family of the governor.[56] It was most probably the case when the revenue of mint along with the post of governor was farmed to the merchants and officials.[57] According to the *Mir'at*, the *mutasaddi* (governor) of Cambay was also quite often the *darogha* of the mint.[58] In Ahmadabad, a separate

52 Lahori, II, p.397.
53 Ms Blochet 482 *BN* ff.174b-175a.
54 Fryer, I, p.248.
55 *Akbarnama*, III, p.223; *EFI* 1618-21, p.8.
56 *Indian Merchants and Decline of Surat*, p.25.
57 *EFI* 1637-41, p.207.
58 *Mir'at*, supplt. p.193.

darogha of mint was to be appointed. In 1703-04, Muhammad Ali, son of Shah Mir, *sawanh-i nigar*, of *suba* Gujarat was appointed as *darogha-i daru-l zarb* of Ahmadabad.[59]

The primary concern of *darogha-i daru-l zarb* was to supervise the working in the mint. For this, according to Abul Fazl, he was required' to be cirumspect and intelligent, (who) keeps every one to his work and shows zeal and integrity.[60] The opening and closing of the mint was at his pleasure,[61] and those wishing to get their bullion coined had to apply to him.[62] Having examined, weighed or counted the bullion, old coins, silver or copper, he issued receipt thereof to the customer who had brought bullion or metal to be coined.[63] When the newly coined money was handed over, it was his duty to see that the *mahsul-i daru-l zarb*(mint charges), *rusum-i ahlkaran*(perquisites of officials), and *ujarat-i karigaran* (wages of workers)had been paid.[64] He had to see that the entries of the daily income and expenditure in the mint had been entered in the registers (*siyaha*).[65] He along with the *mushrif* and *tahwildar* used to deposit every month in the state treasury the entire money collected at the mint on account of mint charges.[66] Annually, he was to submit the income and expenditure records to the office of the *diwan-i khalisa* for inspection.[67]

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59 *Akhbarat* A, 227.
60 *A'in*, I, p.13.
61 *EFI* 1618-21, p.8.
62 *Ibid.* 1661-64, p.22.
63 *Kaghzat-i Mutafarriq*, f.57a-b.
64 *Ibid.*
65 *Ibid.*
66 *Ibid.*
67 *Ibid.* For the duties of *darogha-i daru-l zarb*, see also *Hidayat –ul Qawa'id*, ff.37a-39a.

It was also his duty to see that merchants who imported gold and silver did not sell it else where and cause loss to mint revenue. He used to take bonds from them that they could sell only at the mint.[68] In 1697-98, on the complaint of Mir Baqir, *darogha-i daru-l zarb* of Ahmadabad, *diwan* of the *suba* made a rule that gold and silver could not be melt at any other place except mint.[69]

To assist *darogha*, was *amin*, appointed in the similar manner as that of *darogha*. In fact, the dyarchical office of the *amin* was instituted to strike a balance between local and imperial interests. He assisted the *darogha* and other officials of the mint in exigent matters.

He was to settle the differences between the *darogha* and the working men and to prevent frequent quarrels among the workers in the mint. Abul Fazl describes him literally when he says that he was expected to be impartial.[70] He had a conditional *mansab* with fixed salary.[71]

The *mushrif*, appointed by a *sanad*,[72] acted in the capacity of an account keeper who recorded the daily expenses in the mint.[73]At Ahmadabad, his salary was Rs.30 per month.[74]

The *tahwildar* kept the daily account of the profits of the mint and received the money collected on account of the mint charges.[75]He was also

68 *Mir'at* ,I,pp.303-304,340.
69 *Mir'at*, I, p.340.
70 *A'in*, I, p.15.
71 *Mir'at*, supplt.p.183.
72 *Ibid*.
73 *A'in*, I, p.15.
74 *Mir'at*, supplt.p.183.
75 *A'in*, I, p.16.

appointed by a *sanad* and had a fixed salary.[76] At Ahmadabad, in addition to the *tahwildari* of *daru-l zarb*, he held the *tahwildari* of *mahal jauhari bazaar-o manhari*.[77]

Another official was *karora* though not mentioned in *A'in.* The *Mir'at*, however, without mentioning his duties refers to *karora* as an official attached to *mahal-i daru-l zarb* appointed through a *sanad* and having an 'unconditional' *mansab*.[78]

The *muhr-kan*(engraver) under Akbar held the rank of 100 *zat*. He engraved the dies of the coins.[79]The *Mir'at* makes no mention of it.

The *wazn-kush* (weighman) weighed the bullion, the old coins brought to the mint and the new ones paid out after being minted. For this work, he got some commission.[80] But, the *Mir'at* shows him a paid employee who received a fixed salary of Rs. 3 per month.[81]

The *darban* (watchman) kept a vigil on whatever was brought in or taken out and guarded the mint gates. At Ahmadabad, there were two watchmen; each was paid Rs.4 per month.[82]

Besides this regular staff, there were a number of skilled workmen employed at mint. They were *gudazgar kham* (smelter of ore), *waraqkash* (platemaker), *gudazgar pukhta* (smelter), *zarrab* (coiner), *sikkachi* (stamper), *sabbak* (melter), *qars-kub*, *chashnigar*, and *niyariya*.[83]

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76 *Ibid.*
77 *Mir'at*, supplt. p.183.
78 *Ibid.*
79 *A'in*, I, pp.17-18.
80 *Ibid.*, I, p.16.
81 *Mir'at*, supplt.p.183.
82 *Ibid.*
83 For these skilled workers and their functions, see *A'in,* I, pp.16-20.

As we already know, Mughals had open coinage system in which freedom to obtain Mughal coins was granted to bullion suppliers on payment of minting cost (brassage) and seigiorage.

In actual practice, however, merchants had to face one important problem. The coining in the mint was done by officials assigning fixed days to the merchant suppliers, which often clashed with the timetable set by them to make investments in the hinterland markets and to keep commodities ready for shipping in the right seasons. The majority had to cope with delays in the availability of cash to serve their investment plans.[84]But some privileged merchants could be granted access to the mint out of their turn as a favour. In 1684-85, a *dastak* was issued to the officers of Surat mint officials of Surat port directing them to daily issue 4,000 coins to chief merchant (*'umadat u'l tujjar*) Shaikh Hamid. Likewise, another order was issued in 1701-02, directing Surat mint officials to daily issue 4,000 coins to another merchant, *'umadat u'l tujjar* Muhammad Fazil.[85] The English too were exempted from taking turns in the mint towards the end of the seventeenth century.[86]It was this particular problem which made the presense of the money-changers (*sarrafs*) extremely important in the market as buyers of bullion. Merchants normally did not carry their bullion to the mint but rather sold it to the *sarrafs*, who could better manage the mint officials.[87]

84 *EFI* 1661-64,p.22; *Indian Merchants and Decline of Surat*, pp.46-47.
85 *Surat Documents*, AMU, No.4 and 5.
86 Cf. Najaf Haider, *JESCO*, XXXIX, 3, 1996, pp.326-327 fn.118.
87 *EFI* 1634-36, p.225.

In their capacity as bullion buyers they were in a unique position to assay precious metals and coins (hence the name *sarraf* from Arabic *sayrafi*, money testing) as well to fix their value in the market.[88]

The *sarraf's* profession brought them close not only to the merchants but also to the mint. They were often appointed in the latter as assayers.[89] The *A'in* stresses that the success of the mint depended on the experience of the *sairafi* (or *sarraf*), as he "determines the degrees of purity of the coin".[90] Outside the mint as a professional group, they helped the administration in recoinage. In the reign of Aurangzeb, the *sarrafs* of Ahmadabad were ordered to bring to the mint all the silver coins which had lost in weight up to 3 *surkha* (a little over 3 per cent) for reminting.[91]

88 John Van Twist, A General Description of India (1968), extracts tr. Moreland, *JIH*, XVI(1937),63-77,p.73.

89 *A'in*, I, p.16.

90 *Ibid.*, pp.13-14.

91 *Mir'at*, I, pp.327-28.

In 1644, as we have already seen, the *sarkar* of Surat was assigned in *jagir* to Princess Jahan Ara which also included the revenues from Surat mint. In 1645, we have interesting details of a hospital at Surat. A *parwancha* was issued in accordance with the *nishan* of the Princess, regarding the appointment of *hakim* (physician) at Surat. The *nishan* had specified two rupees to be fixed daily for the *hakim* and two rupees for the medicines and mixture, etc. for the hospital of Princess' *sarkar*, out of the revenues of *daru-l zarb* (mint). A *hakim* was appointed by transferring another *hakim* who was serving earlier. *Mutasaddis* (officers/ clerks), in charge of the mint, were instructed to provide the daily allowance to the *hakim*.[92]

92 Ms.Blochet 482, *BN* ff.174b-175a.

Chapter IX

Revenue Administration I: Revenue Assessment and Collection

REVENUE ADMINISTRATION I : REVENUE ASSESSMENT AND COLLECTION

The extension of Mughal rule, in 1572-73, into Gujarat made it a part of the larger Mughal economic administration. As a result of it, elements of Mughal revenue administration made its inroads in the administrative set up of the area.

Regarding Land Revenue administration especially methods of land revenue assessment as initiated by Mughals in Gujarat, not much clear picture can be formed from the information provided in the contemporary sources. Abu-l Fazl tells us that *zabt* system of revenue assessment which implies measurement was not extended to Gujarat. According to him, Gujarat was "mostly *nasqi* and measurement is not much (*kam*) practiced."[1] At the same time, he offers us detailed statistics of measured land and estimated revenue for whole Gujarat *suba* except Sorath and some *mahals* elsewhere.[2]At the same time, *A'in* has no *dasturu-l'amals* (revenue rates) tabulated for Gujarat *suba*. But *Mir'at* informs us that during the *subadari* of Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan (1577-85), for the second time, a measurement of the cultivable area was carried out on the complaints of the peasants of the *pargana* of the environs (*haveli*) of Ahmadabad and other *parganas*.[3]Further, from the area of Navsari, near Surat, comes a document of 1596 pertaining to a land grant. This is a survey, demarcating the area of a revenue grant, which shows the

1 *A'in*, I, p.485; For main features of *zabt* and *nasaq* mode of assessment, see *Agrarian System*, pp.236-259.

2 *Ibid*. pp.493-500.

3 *Mir'at*, I, p.141.

measured area of both the grantee and the peasants.[4] According to Irfan Habib, this document reinforces the view that a system closely analogous to *zabt* must have prevailed at least in southern Gujarat. Yet another document of about the same time (1593-97) directs that in another *pargana* near Surat, "the villages having been measured (*zabt namuda*), the revenue be realized according to the prescribed *dasturu-l 'amal*; alternatively, it permitted revenue assessment (*jama 'bandi*) of each village to be made on the basis of the cultivation and produce (*mazru 'at o hasil*) of each village. The latter suggests, perhaps, a kind of *nasaq*. This information suggests that both kind of assessment i.e *zabt* and *nasq* were permitted to be employed in this *pargana* of Surat.[5] In this situation, Abu-l Fazl's statement that measurement was "not much practiced" in Gujarat, according to I.Habib, must mean only that it was not seasonally undertaken for application of the *dasturu-l 'amal* (cash revenue rate) to the area under each crop, as under *zabt.*[6]

During the early years of Shahjahan's reign, Gujarat suffered grievously from the famine of 1630-32. During this period, peasantry of the *suba* suffered extreme degree of oppression and distress. In the next decade, imperial authorities became cognizant of the situation and sent Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan(1642-44) as governor of the province to remedy matters. The new appointee as a measure of relief "established crop-sharing" or "*batai*" in which the risk of the seasons was equally shared by the state and the peasants

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4 For a reproduction, analysis and translation of this document, see I.Habib, 'Agricultural and Agrarian Conditions of South Gujarat, 1596,'*PIHC*, 54th session,1993, Mysore, 246-62.

5 Ms. Blochet 482 *BN* ff. 170b-171b. The document is a *parwana* of Sadiq Khan (dated 1597): he had been assigned Surat in *Jagir* in 1593 (Badauni , II, p.387.)

6 *Agrarian System*, p. 266.

and consequently “in a short time brought the country back to prosperity”.[7] Early in the reign of Shahjahan, Dutch factor de Jongh, for Gujarat, speaks of the crop being measured and valued for the purpose of revenue.[8] Further, a *parwancha* by Masih-uz Zaman, *mutasaddi* (governor) of Surat (1635-38) refers to the *desai* of *pargana* Balsar trying to impose *zabti* on a peasant who was thereupon forced to migrate to another *pargana*.[9] It is probable that measurement was not entirely superseded, for in the statistics of Aurangzeb’s reign nearly two-fifths of the villages of Gujarat are shown as measured. According to *Chahar Gulshan* (written about 1759-60), in the reign of Aurangzeb, out of 10,370 villages, 6,446 were measured.[10]Crop sharing itself did not prove a lasting boon to the peasants. An imperial order issued in the 8th regnal year of Aurangzeb discloses an extraordinary perversion of this system. It recites that “owing to the high price of corn” in the earlier years of the reign “the *jama‘* had reached the maximum (*kamal*).Thereafter the prices fell, but *jagirdars* still demanded the same amounts: though formally following crop-sharing, they would assume the produce to be two and a half times the actual, and setting the demand at half of the imaginary figure, they would take away the whole crop and for balance make the peasants work a whole year to provide it out of their wages.[11] Further, in 1674-75, Fryer found that in the Surat region the peasants were not allowed to remove their crops from the fields unless they had surrendered three-fourths of the produce to the

7 *Mir’at*, I, pp.217-18.

8 De Jongh,*JIH*,IV,p.79.

9 Ms.Blochet 482 *BN*, f.166a-b.

10 C*haharGulshan*, Ms.Abdus Salam 292/62, Maulana Azad Library, AMU,ff.87b-88a.

11 *Mir’at*, I, p.268.

authorities.[12] So it is doubtful how far the system of crop-sharing in which the demand was based on the actual harvest reduced the oppression and miserable conditions of peasants in Gujarat.

In the *Mir'at-i Ahmadi*, we have summary statement of the measured area for the *suba* of Gujarat, allegedly based upon the survey of Todar Mal. But the total figure is very close to that Aurangzeb's statistics and *Chahar Gulshan*. In the supplement of *Mir'at in Ahmadi* we have a detailed *mahal* wise statement of revenue and village statistics which is invaluable and is in broad conformity with the *sarkar* figures in the *Chahar Gulshan*.[13] Sorath was not included in the area statistics of either the *A'in* or the later records, and the number of the measured villages in Aurangzeb's statistics was half the total number of villages in the remaining territory. It would seem very likely, therefore, that at the time of the *A'in*, which shows an area double that given in Aurangzeb's time, almost all the villages in the administered tracts were covered by measurement.

About measurement, there is valuable information from *pargana* Broach (an interior and core area of Mughal administration) in 1776.This comes from the report of the English Revenue Collector sent to collect revenue during a temporary cession of the *pargana* to the English by the Marathas. According to this independent source, the total measured area in the *pargana* was 431,329 bighas. Out of this, only 218,465 *bighas* (about50.69%) was cultivated. Of the cultivated area, 108,826 *bighas* "appertain to the Sircar" or government, without any co-sharer in revenue. Of

12 Fryer,I,pp.300-301.
13 *Mir'at*, supplt.pp.188-224.

the other part, the *Grashias* held 56,404 *bighas*, of which 46,918 being cultivated, their revenues were exclusively appropriated by them.[14]

Magnitude of Land Revenue

The *suba* of Gujarat had higher incidence of revenue demand. It was close to three-fourths instead of one-half, the norm in northern India. Scholars have attributed this high incidence of revenue to high prices in the province and larger state claim in the produce.[15]

In the 17th century, de Jongh (1629) says that in Gujarat, the demand was closer to three- fourth of the agricultural produce instead of one-half or one-third.[16] His information is corroborated by observations of other travelers who visited the province after him. According to Van Twist the state demand was the half &some times three quarters.[17] For the reign of Aurangzeb, *Mirat-i Ahmadi* says, that while in theory the *jagirdars* demanded only half, in actual practice more than the total yield could be claimed.[18] Fryer, writing of the vicinity of Surat in 1674-75, says that the peasants had to part with almost three fourths of their produce.[19]

In AD 1668-69, a *farman* was issued to Muhammad Hashim, *diwan* of Gujarat, according to which land revenue was to be amounted, everywhere, as half of the produce.[20] But in parts of Gujarat where land was exceptionally

14 *Selections from the Bombay Secretariat* ,Home Series, ed. George W. Forrest, II, pp.179-89.
15 *The Economy of the Mughal Empire* c.1595, pp.140-141.
16 De Jongh, p.79.
17 Van Twist, *JIH*, XIV, p.64.
18 *Mir'at*, I, p.263.
19 Fryer , I, pp.300-301.
20 *Mir'at*, I, p.263; Articles 4,6,9 & 16.

fertile, the revenue continued to exceed the newly fixed maximum limit despite imperial strictures.[21]

Medium of Payment

It may be assumed that in Gujarat, under the older system of measurement and *nasaq*, the demand would have been set in cash, but under crop-sharing, in kind. Yet here again in January 1703 we come across a complaint that the "amount of revenue"(*zar-i mahsul)* could not be collected in the *pargana* Petlad, because grain was cheap and duties and exactions levied on the routes impeded its export to Ahmadabad.[22] In 1704, Durga Das, *faujdar* of Patan, sent *mahsul* (revenue) of Patan amounting to Rs 50,000 of the current year to the provincial headquarter.[23]

21 *Agrarian System*, p.235.
22 *Akhbarat A*, 77.
23 *Akhbarat A*, 95.

Appendix

The Revenues of Gujarat under the Mughals (c.1595-1719)

In the *A'in-i Akbari*, the chapter entitled "Account of the twelve *subas*" provides us assessed revenue *(jama* in *dams*) figures for the *sarkars* and *mahals* as well as for the Gujarat *suba* as a whole[1]. Though no other statistics comparable in detail to the *A'in* are available, information regarding assessed revenue (*jama'* tables) from the later period, preserved in contemporary administrative manuals and historical works have come down to us. Foreign travelers like Thevenot and Manucci have also commented on the revenues of the Gujarat but figures are mainly based on hearsay. The *jama'*totals for the *suba* given in these sources have been set out in chronological order.

Table A

Showing the Revenues of Gujarat Assessed in *Dams* Over Different Years: c 1595-1719

S.No.	Source	Period	*Mahals*	Figures in *Dams*
1.	*A'in*, I, 493	1595-96	198	43,68,22,301
2.	*Iqbalnama-i Jahangiri* [2]	1605	-	46,91,59,424
3.	*Majalisu-s Salatin*,ff.114a-115b[3]	Pre-1627	-	50,64,00,000
4.	*Bayaz-i Khwushbu'i*,ff.180b-181a[4]	1628-36	-	46,99,59,421

1 *A'in,* I, pp. 493-500.

2 Mu'tamad Khan, *Iqbalnama-i Jahangiri,*

3 Muhammad Sharif-ul Hanfi,*Majalisu-s Salatin*,British Museum,Rieu iii,9066,Oriental Collection,1903,Rotograph no. 19,Centre of Advanced Study(CAS),Department of History, AMU

4 Anonymous, *Bayaz-i Khwushbu'i,* Rotograph no.194,CAS, AMU.

5.	*Farhang-i Kardani*,f.19[5]	1633-38	-	46,32,60,000
6.	*'Amal Salih*,II,p.467[6]	1634-35	-	53,00,00,000
7.	Lahori, *Badshahnama*, vol.II., part II, p.711	1646-47	-	53,00,00,000
8.	*Siyaqnama*,p.102[7]	1638-56	209	53,58,00,000
9.	*Khulasatu-t Tawarikh*,p.59[8]	1638-56	188	58,37,90,000
10.	*Dasturu-l'Amal-i Navisindgi*,f.167a[9]	1646-56	_	53,58,00,000
11.	*Mir'atu-l 'Alam,f.*308a[10]	c.1667	202	44,83,83,096
12.	*Zawabit-i 'Alamgiri*,f.4b[11]	1687-c.1691	256?	45,47,49,125
13.	*Halat-iMumalik-i Mahrusa'i 'Alamgiri*,f.132a[12]	1687-91	216	45,47,42,150
14.	*Dasturu-l'Amal Aurangzeb*,f.3[13]	1687-c.1695	216	45,47,49,135
15.	*Dasturu-l'Amal-i Shahanshahi*,f.13b[14]	1700	220	53,85,25,000
16.	*Dasturu-l'Amal Shahjahani*,ff.14-15[15]	1701-02	_	53,65,25,000
17.	*Muntakhabu-t Tawarikh*,f.52b[16]	c.1709	216	45,47,44,135

5 Jagat Rai Shujai Kayath Saksena, *Farhang-i Kardani*,1679,Ms.Abdus Salam Farsiya 85/315,Maulana Azad Library,AMU.

6 Muhammad Salih Kamboh, '*Amal-i Salih (Shahjahanama*),(in 2 parts), Lahore,1959.

7 Munshi Nand Ram Kayasth Srivastava, *Siyaqnama*, *1694*-96, lithograph, Nawal Kishore, Lucknow, 1879.

8 Sujan Rai Bhandari,*Khulastu't Tawarikh*,ed. Zafar Hasan,Delhi.

9 *Dasturu-l ' Amal-i Navisindagi*, Add.6641, British Museum, Rotograph no.228,CAS,AMU.

10 Shaikh Muhammad Baqa, *Mir'atu-l 'Alam*, ghost writing for his patron, Bakhtawar Khan,Ms.no.62,Farsiya Akhbar, Maulana Azad Library,AMU.

11 *Zawabit-i Alamgiri*, Add.6598, British Museum, Rotograph no.62, CAS, AMU.

12 *Halat-i Mumalik-i Mahrusa' i ' Alamgiri*, Add.6589,British Museum, Rotograph no.55,CAS,AMU.

13 *Dasturu-l ' Amal Aurangzeb*,Boldein Library, Oxford , Fraser 86,Rotograph no. 183, CAS,AMU.

14 Munshi Thakur Lal, *Dastur al Amal-i Shahanshahi*,Add.22831,British Museum, Rotograph no.52,CAS,AMU.

15 *Dastur-ul Amal Shahjahani*, Add.6588, British Museum, Rotograph no.56, CAS, AMU.

16 Jagjivandas Gujarati,*Muntakhabu-t Tawarikh*,Add.26,253,British Museum, Rotograph no. 21, CAS, AMU.

18.	*Dasturu-l ‘Amal ‘Asar-i ‘Alamgiri*,ff.122b-123a[17]	1700-11	223	86,92,88,069
19.	*Kaghazat-i Mutafarriqa*,ff.73b-76b[18]	Date uncertain but pertains to the closing years of Aurangzeb’s reign	218	54,14,18,741
20.	*Chahr Gulshan*,ff.87b-88a[19]	Same as above	256	53,02,89,319
21.	*Mir’at*,I,p.25	c.1719	184	79,96,45,213

The Table indicates a steady increase of revenue between the years 1595 and 1627 (viz from roughly 43.5 to 50.5 crores).This rise in revenue over the period may be attributed to such factors as the extension of cultivation, change in the cropping pattern and increase in commercial activity.

In 1632 Gujarat was affected by a grievous famine which led to a dip in the assessed revenue of Gujarat. In addition to it, the state also granted revenue remission as a necessity, which affected a substantial fall in revenues of *suba* as clearly reflected in the *jama‘* statistics of this period. This fall amounted to around 4 crores (viz roughly from 50.5 crores in 1627 to 46.5 crores in 1638).

The next two decades (i.e. between 1636 and 1658) indicate a period of rapid recovery from the effects of the famine. This reflected in the increase in the *jama‘* figures, from 46,32,60,000 crores in *dams*(in 1638) to 58,37,90,000 *dams* (around 1655).This fact is further corroborated by the textual evidence

17 *Dasturu-l ‘Amal ‘Asar-i ‘Alamgiri*, Add.6599,British Museum, Rotograph no.53, CAS, AMU.

18 *Kaghzat-i Mutafarriqa*,report in Persian on the pre-British administrative system in Bengal, prepared by the *Rai Rayan* and the *qanungos* under the instructions from the Governor General in Council,Jan.4,1777,Add.6586,ff.53a to 72b;Add.6592,ff.75b-114b,Rotograph no.203,CAS,AMU.

19 Rai Chaturman Saksena, *Chahr Gulshan*, Bodleian Library, Oxford, Elliot 366,Ms.Abdus Salam 292/62,Maulana Azad Library, AMU. Portion translated by J.N.Sarkar in his *India of Aurangzeb* ,Calcutta,1901,pp.140-141.

accorded in the *Mir'at* which tells us that by 1652 Gujarat was "prosperous" again.[20]

The fall in revenue recorded for the years between 1667 and 1687 point to a cycle of famine and scarcity, once again amply reflected in the *Mir'at* and English Factory Records.[21]

The revenue figures for the period between the closing years of Aurangzeb to around 1719 show an upward trend. This could be explained by the fact of the great economic pressures exerted on the province due to instability caused by the wars of succession and Maratha raids. The province was over assessed is made clear by the fact that the actual realization (*hasil*) fell far short of the assessment (*jama'*). According to *Mir'at*, around 1719,the assessed revenue was 79,96,45,213*dams*(Rs 1,99,91,130) but realized revenue only amounted to Rs. 1,00,00,000, the latter was approximately half of the former.[22]

This could possibly have been due to the fact that after the death of Aurangzeb, the central authority was considerably weakened and in this atmosphere of political and administrative instability, it might not have possible to carry out the work of collection effectively.

Table B

20 *Mir'at*,I,pp.217-18

21 *Mir'at*, I, pp. 251, 300-01, 309, 315, 325, 329-30; *EFI* 1655-60, pp. 306-07, 320; *EFI* 1661-64, pp. 25, 200, 257, 320-21, 329; *EF(NS*), III, p.277.

22 *Mir'at*,I,pp.25-26

Sarkar Level Breakdown of _Jama_‘ Statistics for _suba_ Gujarat (1595-1719)

S.no.	***Sarkars***	***A'in-i Akbari***[23]	***Dasturu-l 'Amal Shahanshahi***[24]	***Dasturu-l 'Amal-i Shahjahani***[25]
1.	Ahmadabad	20,83,06,994	23,25,22,552	23,50,22,782
2.	Patan	6,03,25,099	4,09,17,410	4,09,17,410
3.	Naudat	87,97,596	83,85,400	83,85,400
4.	Baroda	4,11,45,895	3,87,18,618	3,98,58,618
5.	Broach	2,18,45,663	5,00,80,935	5,37,80,635
6.	Champanir	1,05,09,884	1,84,18,271	1,84,88,276
7.	Surat	1,90,35,180	5,54,29,998	5,54,99,958
8.	Godhra	34,18,324	_	_
9.	Sorath	6,34,37,366	5,46,39,536	5,48,39,526
10.	Islamnagar	_	5,06,13,990	2,03,38,990
	Total Stated	**43,68,22,301**	**53,85,25,000**	**53,65,25,000**

S.no.	***Sarkars***	***Dasturu-l***	***Kaghazat-i***	***Chahr***	***Mir'at***[29]

23 *A'in*, I, pp.493-500.I have collated these figures with the original copy of *A'in-i Akbari* preserved in British Museum Add.7652. The Reader Printer copy of this original is available at CAS, AMU (Rotograph no.297, 2 vols.), pp.237-240.

24 *Dasturu-l 'Amal-i Shahanshahi*,f.13b.

25 *Dasturu-l 'Amal-i Shahjahani*,ff. 14-15.

		'Amal 'Asar-i 'Alamgiri[26]	*Mutafarriqa*[27]	*Gulshan*[28]	
1.	Ahmadabad	38,12,83,705	23,10,22,882	27,11,27,162	36,11,21,370
2.	Patan	9,80,27,154	4,09,17,460	4,06,47,362	9,44,27,784
3.	Naudat	1,22,21,825	79,85,000	_	1,22,14,175
4.	Baroda	4,94,70,184	3,99,66,620	2,92,11,846	10,20,70,184
5.	Broach	6,70,74,597	5,37,80,335	5,65,01,619	6,71,04,818
6.	Champanir	2,42,81,303	1,09,17,460	3,27,42,695	2,75,78,097
7.	Surat	6,05,22,890	5,54,99,758	7,86,22,832	4,92,39,342
8.	Godhra	66,13,575	19,00,000	16,20,000	56,14,027
9.	Sorath	10,03,67,100	5,48,39,526	4,28,50,388	8,88,27,656
10.	Islamnagar	1,98,44,214	1,00,00,000	2,45,22,536	3,73,53,186
11.	Kambhaliya	_	1,39,89,820	_	_
12.	90 Ships	_	11,00,000	_	_
	Total Stated	**86,92,88,069**	**54,14,18,841**	**53,02,89,319**	**79,96,45,213**

Table C

29 *Mir'at*,supplt.,pp.187-224

26 *Dasturu-l ' Amal' Asar 'Alamgiri*,ff.122b-123a.It shows total *jama* figure abnormally high. This unusual increase is not reflected in any of the other sources of around the same period. In the absence of definite evidence, no explanation can be offered.

27 *Kaghazat-i Mutafarriqa*,ff. 73b-76b.

28 I have collated the revenue figures given in five MSS at the Maulana Azad Library, AMU: Abdus Salam Collection 292/62, ff.87b-88; Jawahar Museum Collection 81JF,f.45a-b;Farsiya Tarikh Zamima University Collection 69 F,f.66a-b;Farsiya Tarikh Qutbuddin Collection 87/7F,f.85a;and Farsiya Tarikh Habibganj Collection 32/157 F,f.87.I have also collated these with figures in Sarkar's tr.*India of Aurangzeb*,pp.140-41.

Pargana/Mahal Level Break Down of _Jama_ Statistics for _suba_ Gujarat (1595-1719)

A. _Sarkar_ Ahmadabad

S.no.	***Pargana/Mahal***	***A'in***	***Kaghzat-i Mutafarriqa***	***Mir'at***
1.	Balda Ahmadabad	1,59,90,073	1,26,91,600	_
2.	Haveli Ahmadabad	2,39,92,671	2,55,31,760	3,43,88,053
3.	Urhar Matar	96,62,754	1,18,42,335	2,00,82,798
4.	Ahmednagar	17,70,912	10,40,000	29,90,200
5.	Idar	16,16,000	75,00,000	1,20,00,000
6.	Bahiel	67,88,925	1,12,06,570	18,07,689
7.	Bare Sewa	28,14,124	22,02,700	33,87,659
8.	Pirpur	17,78,300	12,00,000	31,06,869
9.	Piplod	14,93,249	8,73,000	14,97,750
10.	Parantij	20,76,574	25,20,000	37,81,500
11.	Bandar Sula (Gogha)	6,00,000	70,56,000	Included in Cambay
12.	Petlad	3,49,08,220	2,02,58,119	4,62,31,360
13.	Thamna	48,25,390	48,88,254	1,14,50,390
14.	Chala Brahar	16,50,000	12,00,000	38,35,000
15.	Jhalawar (Viramgoan)	1,13,67,704	1,10,05,000	2,38,61,871
16.	Dholka	1,01,88,105	1,66,93,250	2,17,00,099
17.	Dhandhuka	22,08,606	40,00,000	86,28,650
18.	Sarnal	25,28,632	39,67,325	51,31,760
19.	Kadi	3,01,25,788	2,36,91,295	5,69,00,972
20.	Cambay	2,21,17,986	1,36,25,112	3,45,96,272
21.	Kapadvanj	30,60,056	22,82,675	48,51,027
22.	Mahuda	1,00,47,439	78,34,055	1,69,11,616
23.	Morasa	42,35,110	Included in Makranj	Included in Makranj
24.	Mahmudabad	17,48,080	15,38,000	32,45,700
25.	Masudabad	14,00,000	12,00,000	28,33,300
26.	Makranj	1,21,762	45,38,000	81,35,049

27.	Nadiad	81,03,098	1,08,51,658	1,96,78,755
28.	Harsol	7,52,212	10,29,000	13,71,619
29.	Azimabad	_	14,45,000	15,61,000
30.	Hyderabad	_	2,90,000	3,44,489
31.	Shahjahanpur	_	3,40,000	6,35,423
32.	Dar ulzarb Baldah	_	10,00,000	61,74,500
	Stated Total	20,83,06,994	23,10,22,882	_
	Calculated Total	21,79,71,770	21,53,40,708	36,11,21,370

B *Sarkar* Patan

S.no.	***Parganas/Mahals***	***A'in***	***Kaghzat-i Mutafarriqa***	***Mir'at***
1.	Patan	9,57,462	12,00,000	25,05,000
2.	Bijapur	60,01,832	40,72,000	1,31,36,565
3.	Palanpur	36,00,000	36,60,000	38,o6,439
4.	Vadnagar	18,44,324	27,52,000	59,64,056
5.	Visalnagar	6,74,348	14,12,400	35,92,664
6.	Tharad	40,00,000	20,00,000	56,89,146
7.	Tervada	21,30,000	1,00,000	2,50,000
8.	Patan Haveli	2,54,20,045	1,08,90,699	3,64,69,121
9.	Radhanpur	40,00,000	8,00,000	25,00,000
10.	Sami	12,66,998	8,00,000	58,66,800
11.	Santalpur	2,87,340	3,00,000	15,15,000
12.	Kheralu	40,00,000	20,00,000	57,87,700
13.	Kankrej	13,12,590	1,00,000	13,15,000
14.	Munjpur	9,09,630	8,00,000	40,71,723
15.	Morvada	3,20,030	1,00,000	3,50,500
16.	Deesa	16,00,000	11,00,000	16,08,070
	Stated Total	**6,03,25,099**	**4,09,17,460**	_
	Calculated Total	**5,83,24,599**	**3,20,87,099**	**9,44,27,784**

C *Sarkar* Naudat

S.no.	*Parganas/Mahals*	*A'in*	*Kaghzat-i Mutafarriqa*	*Mir'at*
1.	Amreli	1,43,625	60,000	+
2.	Avidha	17,076	60,000 (3mahal)	+
3.	Vasrani	20,61,368	20,15,000	15,01,458
4.	Badal	2,72,845	1,00,000	+
5.		15,95,525	1,00,000	+
6.	Tahva	1,65,500	50,000	+
7.	Jambugaon	4,12,093	30,00,000	+
8.	Kijar	80,308	-	_
9.	Murghdarra	62,628	40,000	+
10.	Mandan	16,000	-	_
11.	Nadaut	39,29,830	24,30,000	+
12.	Natrang	40,798	20,000	_
	Tilakwada			
	Stated Total	**87,97,596**	**79,85,000**	_
	Calculated Total	**87,97,596**	**78,75,000**	**1,22,14,275**

+ For all these *Parganas* and three other Sarkar, Sarrih and Kutwali Saha the total *jama* given in the *Mir'at* is 71,12,817 *dam*.

D *Sarkar* Baroda

S.no.	*Parganas/Mahals*	*A'in*	*Kaghzat-i Mutafarriqa*	*Mir'at*
1.	Baroda	2,70,03,485	2,06,97,120	7,44,03,659
2.	Bahadurpur	21,43,280	1,20,60,000	31,65,993
3.	Dabhoi	62,52,550	32,78,500	1,04,13,010
4.	Sinor	57,46,580	39,50,000	1,40,87,522
	Stated Total	**4,11,45,895**	**3,99,66,620**	_
	Calculated Total	**4,11,45,895**	**3,99,85,620**	**10,20,70,184**

E *Sarkar* Broach

S.no.	*Parganas/Mahals*	*A'in*	*Kaghzat-i Mutafarriq*	*Mir'at*
1.	Olpad	16,55,877	51,05,500	83,02,000
2.	Ankleshwar	5,58,010	30,10,000	86,24,459
3.	Atlesar	3,07,737	1,00,000	4,80,000
4	Broach	4,56,230	37,50,000	9,50,000
5.	Tarkeshwar	5,651	1,78,036	2,67,019
6.	Mamdir	1,22,795	1,40,000	3,00,000
7.	Broach Haveli	70,22,690	1,01,37,221	1,52,33,745
8	Dehej	11,74,545	904,084	34,97,098
9.	Kavi	42,75,000	_	_
10.	Kala	3,53,670	11,00,000	11,00,000
11.	Gandhar	2,40,000	2,40,00,000*	
12.	Lorak	12,77,250	2,00,000	27,80,000+
13.	Maqbulabad	19,12,040	2,00,000	75,95,400
14.	Hansot	24,39,158	39,15,000	85,88,612
15.	Jambusar	_	_	91,36,285
	Stated Total	**5,37,80,335**	**2,18,45,663**	**_**
	Calculated Total	**2,18,00,653**	**5,45,39,841**	**6,71,04,818**

+ In *Mir'at*, it is named as Koliyera.
* In *Kaghzat-i Mutafarriqa*,it is written separately.According to it,it has 5 *mahals*
with *Jama* amounting to 2,40,00,000.

F-*Sarkar* Champaner

S.no.	*Parganas/Mahals*	*A'in*	*Kaghzat-i Mutafarriqa*	*Mir'at*
1.	Aradra	48,209	_	57,240
2.	Champaner Haveli	14,29,649	7,30,000	19,91,169
3.	Jindavara	21,530	_	32,130
4.	Chaurasi	22,15,275	14,00,000	35,27,430
5.	Dohad	12,83,3000	10,00,000	13,43,000
6.	Delol	1,70,992	9,00,000	12,19,662
7.	Dilvrah	48,628	51,700	62,000
8.	Sankhera	29,90,896	26,00,000	43,13,469
9.	Savli	23,00,000	23,05,200	34,42,950
10.	Halol Kalol	_	_	33,01,200
11.	Tibhurva Vasna	_	2,40,000	24,05,050
12.	Mohan	_	_	58,82,797
	Stated Total	**1,05,09,884**	**1,09,17,460**	_
	Calculated Total	**1,05,08,479**	**92,26,900**	**2,75,78,097**

G-*Sarkar* Surat

S.No.	*Parganas/Mahals*	*A'in*	*Kaghzat-i*	*Mir'at*

			Mutafarriqa	
1.	Anawal	4,24,355	70,000	50,200
2.	Parchul	11,08,000	10,00,000	53,77,371
3.	Bulsar	12,81,420	4,00,000	35,77,000
4.	Balesar	10,16,045	50,000	34,80,278
5.	Vyara	5,54,320	6,20,000	8,36,325
6.	Balwara	4,78,620	1,90,000	1,98,288
7.	Bahsarot?	4,24,055	50,000	_
8.	Parner	2,77,475	3,00,000	_
9.	Bahotsar	1,46,230	14,00,000	1,00,000
10.	Valod	5,92,180	70,000	3,94,893
11.	Talare	9,17,890	12,00,000	4,96,000
12.	Timba	2,36,390	2,00,000	15,44,000
13.	Chikli	3,89,320	13,00,000	13,00,000
14.	Dhamodi	7,67,520	1,40,000	75,000
15.	Rander	63,692	2,00,000	2,65,000
16.	Surat Haveli	55,30,145	11,00,000	1,50,00,000
17.	Supa	7,31,510	_	_
18.	Sarbhon	6,01,285	6,00,000	12,25,000
19.	Mota	26,960	13,00,000	_
20.	Gandevi	8,35,830	43,00,000	23,00,000
21.	Khedka	6,29,310	1,60,000	1,41,917
22.	Kadod	3,83,240	1,50,000	6,92,000
23.	Kamrej	3,28,205	9,00,000	19,35,000
24.	Kos	2,28,390	40,000	1,20,320
25.	Kuhari	85,280	80,000	1,00,000
26.	Maroli	3,70,410	5,00,000	15,40,000
27.	Mahua	1,00,290	5,00,000	7,50,000
28.	Bardoli	65,220	9,00,000	5,00,000
29.	Navsari	2,97,720	6,00,000	6,03,200
30.	Variao	1,30,700	5,00,000	_
31.	Chorasi	_	35,38,500	41,67,550
	Stated Total	**1,90,35,180**	**5,54,99,758**	**_ ***
	Calculated Total	**1,90,22,007**	**2,23,58,500**	**4,92,39,342**

* 3 more *mahals/parganas* are given in *Mir'at*. They are Barbarah, Sahrat and Nivsa. Their *Jama* figures are 6,70,000,1,60,000 and 16,40,000 respectively.

H-*Sarkar* Godhra

S.no.	*Parganas/Mahals*	*A'in*	*Kaghzat-i Mutafarriqa*	*Mir'at*
1.	Dudhia	1,84,953	1,20,000	2,86,012
2.	Itawa	34,660	_	54,062
3.	Barria	2,57,202	_	_
4.	Jadnagar	1,20,860	_	_
5.	Jhalot	7,94,854	3,00,000	11,35,490
6.	Dhamnod	_	1,60,000	4,38,982
7.	Sehera	14,661	60,000	2,10,617
8.	Godhra Haveli	7,85,669	7,00,000	17,59,537
9.	Kudhana	7,85,669	1,20,000	3,86,585
10.	Mehral	5,25,975	2,00,000	7,55,930
11.	Mahirdawara	18,026	20,000	33,660
12.	Nemdah	_	1,40,000	3,81,262
13.	Sarbal	_	60,000	_
14.	Dabyavav?	_	20,000	_
15.	Nadli	_	_	1,71,890
	Stated Total	**34,18,324**	**19,00,000**	**_**
	Calculated Total	**35,22,511**	**19,00,000**	**56,14,027**

I-*Sarkar* Sorath

S.no.	*Parganas/Mahals*	*A'in*	*Kaghzat-i Mutafarriqa*	*Mir'at*
1.	Una	76,30,388	12,52,378	63,15,262
2.	Aivej	7,80,500	50,000	4,73,000
3.	Amreli	17,84,160	6,12,710	16,72,050
4.	Upleta	12,14,592	20,57,754	25,15,460
5.	Pattan Deo	44,53,912	19,60,000	47,17,000
6.	Banwarah	8,49,340	_	19,49,710
7.	Bilkha	1,40,000	1,00,000	1,16,000
8.	Bulsar	5,09,760	_	_
9.	Beri	14,160	50,000	_
10.	Barra	5,664	7,000	_
11.	Bhad	84,960	40,000	40,000
12.	Bandor	14,060	7,07,878	_
13.	Bhimrad	28,320	40,000	_
14.	Palitana	2,44,592	50,000	50,000
15.	Bagasra	56,640	_	_
16.	Bard	7,34,790	_	_
17.	Bharwara	74,792	_	_
18.	Badli	14,160	_	
19.	Talaja	24,35,520	10,02,725	28,54,415
20.	Chok	4,53,120	2,01,000	_
21.	Jetpur	2,832	1,25,00,000	34,63,169
22.	Jagat	8,03,200	6,00,000	8,40,000
23.	Chorwar	9,36,966	2,00,000	7,13,900
24.	Chura	19,288	_	_
25.	Chatri	10,76,160	_	_
26.	Jasdan	98,065	_	_
27.	Juangadh	9,32,000	1,25,00,000	1,25,38,931
28.	Dhank	41,492	1,20,000	3,35,000
29.	Dongar	7,26,400	1,00,000	7,72,000
30.	Daulatabad	3,57,424	50,000	1,00,000
31.	Derwal	59,792	29,63,010	2,30,000
32.	Dhantror	2,52,048	1,00,000	1,00,000
33.	Dhari	6,44,272	50,000	50,000
34.	Ranpur	16,128	9,19,067	10,46,656
35.	Ralgond	1,13,280	50,000	1,00,000
36.	Rajotkot	28,320	5,00,000	6,00,000
37.	Sihor	42,480	2,50,00	1,00,000
38.	Sarri	4,536	_	_
39.	Sultanpur	4,24,800	1,50,000	_
40.	Gariadhar	6,23,040	_	6,26,042

41.	Kodinar	45,38,160	16,81,164	52,59,527
42.	Ghoga(except Bandar)	6,66,560	12,70,000	11,80,000
43.	Kianabanaera	42,480	20,000	50,480
44.	Kaner	1,27,480	_	_
45.	Karidhavi	5,98,704	1,00,000	6,26,042
46.	Gondal	56,640	_	2,00,000
47.	Kutiyana	17,97,256	21,81,000	20,81,821
48.	Kandolna	1,98,432	_	_
49.	Loliana	14,23,082	11,80,000	16,02,700
50.	Lemora Batwa	4,87,576	_	_
51.	Lathi	2,96,152	1,00,000	1,46,000
52.	Manekpur	9,95,048	2,50,000	2,50,000
53.	Mohwa	20,51,136	4,04,000	34,58,375
54.	Mandwi	1,27,440	50,000	50,000
55.	Manglore	1,66,89,472	1,14,46,487	96,67,135
56.	Medrah	2,28,160	12,91,125	12,91,195
57.	Morvi	26,03,336	31,50,000	33,30,000
58.	Miyani	14,160	_	_
59.	Nagsari	7,55,376	_	_
60.	Hasthani	10,10,592	_	4,01,000
61.	Khontdari	_	40,000	1,05,054
62.	Bantwa	_	47,32,000	99,66,365
63.	Darulzarb	_	1,00,000	1,00,000
64.	Kobdan	_	2,00,000	_
65.	Hakribemdar	_	2,50,000	_
66.	Bahdar?	_	1,76,000	_
67.	Sabaz	_	2,00,000	_
68.	Bansawar	_	_	19,49,702
69.	Banna	_	_	2,57,330
70.	Jamharao	_	_	_
71.	Jhaoad	_	_	2,30,000
72.	Jhao	_	_	_
73.	Bilirani	_	_	80,500
74.	Barwala	_	_	47,400
75.	Barbara	_	_	50,480
76.	Muhammadnagar (Halvad)	_	_	25,08,000
77.	Porbandar	_	5,40,000	8,79,125
78.	Tehrad	_	_	1,15,376
	Stated Total	**6,34,37,366**	**5,48,39,526**	_
	Calculated Total	**6,34,33,195**	**6,85,95,298**	**8,88,27,656**

J-*Sarkar* Islamnagar

S.no.	***Parganas/Mahals***	***A'in***	***Kaghzat-i Mutafarriqa***	***Mir'at***
1.	Haveli Islamnagar	_	_	9,23,700*
2.	Pargana Haveli	_	_	
3.	Amron	_	_	
4.	Pardhari	_	_	52,82,432
5.	Kalahar	_	_	
6.	Latifpur	_	_	
7.	Deraya	_	_	
8.	Kambhaliya	_	_	20,10,000
9.	Bahan	_	_	20,10,000
10.	Marandi	_	_	2,22,000
11.	Kadah	_	_	10,72,200
12.	Baniali	_	_	6,70,600
13.	Visawara	_	_	4,00,000
14.	Dhrol	_	_	11,33,000
15.	Raipur(Bodh)	_	_	15,85,000
16.	Khandolia	_	_	23,00,000
17.	Jodhpur	_	_	
18.	Ol	_	_	
19.	Jodhia	_	_	
20.	Balamba	_	_	1,97,44,254
21.	Bhakol	_	_	
22.	Harsavarsa	_	_	
23.	Juba	_	_	
	Stated Total	**_**	**1,00,00,000**	**_**
	Calculated Total	**_**	**1,00,00,000**	**3,73,53,186**

+ It also included *Darulzarb*(for melting *mahmudis*) whose *Jama* amounted to 50,000 and *mandvi*(*sad-o panj*)

Chapter X

Revenue Administration II : Khalsa and Jagir

REVENUE ADMINISTRATION II: *KHALSA* AND *JAGIR*

In Mughal India, *jagirs* were assigned in lieu of the salary due to a *mansabdar*, for his *zat* and *sawar* ranks. Such *jagirs* were known as *jagir-i tankhwah*. When a *jagir* was allotted to a person conditional upon his appointment to a particular post, the *jagir* was known as *mashrut* or conditional.[1] In 1672 when Muhammad Amin Khan was appointed *subadar* of Gujarat, the *jagir* of *sarkar* Patan and Viramgoan, which was attached to the post, was granted to him as *mashrut*.[2] *Jagirs*, which involved no obligation of service, being independent of rank, were known as *in'am*. In 1644, Surat was assigned to Princess Jahan Ara as *in'am.*[3]

The markets of the larger towns and the ports were constituted into separate *mahals* (as distinct from the *parganas*, or territorial *mahals*). But these markets and ports were also frequently assigned in *jagirs* like the territorial *mahals*. Ports were considered to be more lucrative so generally granted in *jagir* to favourite members of imperial family like Nur Jahan, Ladli Begum, Jahan Ara etc. From the *suba* of Gujarat, many instances of this type can be cited. In 1623, Nur Jahan had been given Cambay in her *jagir*.[4] In 1644, Princess Jahan Ara received the *sarkar* of Surat with port in *jagir*.[5] During Aurangzeb's reign, Prince A'zam had port of Broach in his *jagir* when he was the governor of Gujarat.[6]

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1 *Mir'at*, I, p.303.
2 *Ibid.*, p.289.
3 Lahori, II, p.397.
4 *EFI* 1622-23, p.249.
5 Lahori, II, p.397.
6 *Akhbarat* A, 175.

Under Mughals, revenues from sources other than land revenue were classified under separate fiscal units called *sa'ir*, and these were collectively known as *sa'ir jihat*.[7] In 1667-70, governor of Gujarat, Bahadur Khan had *mahal-i sa'ir balda-i Ahmadabad* in his *jagir*.[8]

The assignments (*jagirs*) were often subject to temporary resumption for the satisfaction of *mutalaba*, or the claim of the imperial exchequers on a *jagirdar*. These amounts accumulated in a number of ways: from unrepaid loans (*musa'adat*) from the *jagirdar's* failure in discharging his various obligation as *mansabdars* (e.g. not bringing to the brand the required member of horses of standard breeds or not bringing them with in the stipulated period, or failing to supply provisions for the animals of the imperial stables).from pay reductions enforced with retrospective effect, and, from claim on revenues of his *jagirs* through arrears of the previous year due to other assignees, especially the *khalisa*.[9]

In *Akhbarat* of prince A'zam, there are repeated references to Saiyyid Kamal Khan *faujdar* of Idar and Modasa (in *sarkar* of Ahmadabad) in connection with *Dagh-o-tashiha* (system of Brand and Review) of his contingent. The non compliance of Branding and verification by many *mansabdars* posted in Gujarat were reported by Mir Ahmad Khan, *Bakhshi* of Gujarat. Accordingly, a list of defaulters was prepared and orders were placed to confiscate their *jagirs* to realize the state claims (*mutaliba*) from them.

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7 *Agrarian System*, pp.283, 300n.
8 *Mir'at*, I, p.276.
9 *Agrarian System*, p.311.

Saiyyid Kamal Khan was one of the *mansabdars* whose *jagir* in Rasul nagar was resumed.[10]

The complaint of an ordinary person named Lal, resident of Ahmadabad, against Khalil Baig, *thanadar* of Kapadvanj, reveals interesting information about the practical working of the *Jagir* system in Gujarat *suba*. The accused had taken loan from the complainant and was not paying back. The *Bakhshi* of the *suba*, Mir Ahmad Khan proposed that the amount be deducted from the *Jagir* of the officer in question to set an example for others.[11]

In the last years of Aurangzeb's reign, there was also shortage of *jagirs* to be allotted to the officers posted in the *suba.* In *Akhbarat* of Prince A'zam, there is a petition of a *mansabdar* Safdar Khan Babi posted in Gujarat who was not allotted a *Jagir*. His petition was to be forwarded to the Emperor. His *wakil* (agent) sought *pargana* Rasulnagar in allotment for his client. As we have already seen, this *Jagir* was previously held by Saiyyid Kamal Khan, *faujdar* of Idar and Modasa but resumed as a result of his non-compliance of branding and verification regulations.[12]

If the holders of *watan jagirs* obliged any increase in their ranks or if from the very beginning they had held a rank the pay for which was not fully met from the *jamadami* of their *watan jagirs* they were given ordinary *tankhwa jagirs*, in addition to their *watan jagirs*. Maharaja Jaswant Singh, though holding the whole of Marwar as his *watan jagir*, held *jagirs* in Hisar (Delhi province). In 1670, Jaswant Singh was appointed as governor of Gujarat for

10 *Akhbarat* A, 25,26,34,35,69,83,89,90. In Aurangzeb's time, Visalnagar situated in Patan *sarkar* was renamed as Rasulnagar (*Mir'at*, supplt.p. 202.)

11 *Akhbarat* A, 10.

12 *Akhbarat* A, 44,45,88.

the second time. As a result of this appointment, his *tankhwa jagirs* in Delhi province were transferred to Gujarat *suba.* But they were inferior to the previous *jagirs*, yielding less than previous *jagirs*. [13]

For the collection of revenue, the *jagirdar* himself was responsible while assessment was made by the imperial authorities. From imperial side, the main officer responsible for the assessment and collection of revenue in a *pargana* or group of *parganas* was *amil* or *amalguzar*.[14] Beside him, in later period, an *amin-faujdar* came to be appointed who combined in himself the functions of both *karori* and *faujdar*. [15]In 1702-04, Mustafa Quli Beg was *faujdar* and *amin* of *pargana* Petlad (in *sarkar* Ahmadabad) and port Broach which were in *jagir* to Prince A‘zam, governor of Gujarat.[16] *Pargana* Shahjahanpur in *sarkar* Ahmadabad was also assigned in *jagir* to Prince A‘zam. For its management, Hasan Quli was appointed as *faujdar* and *amin* of the said *jagir*.[17]

The ‘*amils*’ accounts were always subjected to rigorous auditing after their removal. Aurangzeb ordered that if they were found guilty of misappropriation, the whole of their personal allowance, and three-fourths of that of their staff, was to be resumed.[18] In 1693-94, Mir Hayatullah, *amil* of *pargana* Dholka (a *khalsa* territory) was transferred and he went to Imperial court for giving audit of his work.[19]

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13 *Mir'at*, I, pp. 276-77.
14 *A'in*, I,p.285-88.
15 *Agrarian System*, pp.318-20.
16 *Akhbarat* A,175.
17 *Akhbarat* A, 128,139,
18 *Mir'at*, I, p.264.
19 *Ibid.,* p.330.

Another officer related to the administration of *khalsa* and *jagirs* was *fotadar* (treasurer) and *karkun* or *bitikchi*(accountant).[20] In the 7th regnal year of Shahjahan, Nand Lal was appointed as *fotadar* of the environs of Ahmadabad and Darvesh Beg, *ijaradar* was instructed to deposit that all was realized to him and get a receipt of it and he was to, in turn deposit it that amount to the higher authorities of *khalsa sharifa*. [21]

It seems that from the beginning the bigger *jagirdars* were given *faujdari* jurisdictions within their *jagirs* and under Aurangzeb this was certainly the general practice.[22] In Gujarat *suba*, too, this practice was quite prevalent and many examples can quoted. In 1654, two brothers Shamsuddin and Qutbuddin, sons of Nazar Bahadur Kheshgi were made *jagirdar* and *faujdar* of Junagadh (Sorath).[23] In 1669, Sardar Khan was the *faujdar* and *jagirdar* of Sorath.[24] In 1670-71, Qutbuddin Khan was *faujdar* and *jagirdar* of Baroda.[25] This practice seriously reduced the powers of the imperial *faujdar*, for he was not entitled to interfere in the affairs of these *jagirs*.

But in case of small *mansabdars*, the *faujdar* had to assist him in the collection of land revenue and maintenance of law and order. In the 47th regnal year of Aurangzeb, a village in *pargana* Chaurasi of *sarkar* Cambay was assigned in *jagir* to a small *mansabdar*. This village was said to be *zor-talab* and *mahwasi* (rebellious) and *kolis* and its inhabitants indulged in highway robbery (*rah-zani*).The *faujdar* of the adjacent *pargana* was instructed to establish its *thana* in said area so that revenue could be collected.[26]

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20 For duties of these officers see *A'in*, I, pp.288-89.
21 Ms. Blochet 482,*BN* f.34a.
22 *Agrarian System*, p.339.
23 *Mir'at*, I, p. 231.
24 *Mir'at*, I, p. 276.
25 *Ibid*.
26 *Akhbarat* A, 75, 84.

At the top of the revenue machinery was provincial finance department represented by provincial *diwan*, appointed directly from the imperial court. He acted directly under the orders of imperial *diwan*.[27] He was to insure the collection of revenue from the *khalsa* and administer the financial business in relation to the *jagirs* according to the imperial regulations.[28] Besides provincial *diwan*, the provincial finance department included assistants like *diwan-i khalsa* (for *khalsa* land) and *diwan-i tan* (for salaries). In 1702-04, Khawaja Abdul Hamid was the *diwan* of *suba* Gujarat and Afzal Khan was *diwan-i tan*.[29]

Ijara (Revenue Farming)

As a general practice *ijara* or revenue-farming lay under official disapproval.[30]Yet in actual fact, this practice was often adopted in both *khalisa* and *Jagir* lands.

In the 7th regnal year and 13th regnal year (1640) of Shahjahan, Darvesh Beg held the *ijara* of the environs of Ahmadabad.[31]

In 1644-45, the *pargana* of Karod in *sarkar* Surat, which was in *Jagir* of Jahanara, was given on *ijara* to a person named Saiyyid Yusuf for 5,751 *mahmudis*.[32]

27 *Mir'at*, supplt. p.173.

28 *Ibid.*, p.173. An idea of the extent of the *diwan*'s functions can be formed from the Aurangzeb's *farman* addressed to Muhammad Hashim, *diwan* of Gujarat, issued in 1668-69, containing directions about his business.(*Mir'at*, I, pp.268-72).

29 *Akhbarat* A, 139,122, 210.

30 For prohibition of *ijara* in absolute terms both in respect of the *khalisa and jagirs* for Gujarat, see *Mir'at*, I, p.292.

31 Ms.Blochet 482 *BN* ff.34a-35a. Another instance can be found in f. 146a-b of same source.

32 Ibid., f.173a.

When the *jagirdars* farmed out their *jagirs*, the revenue-farmers seem usually to have been local men. But there is rather a rare case when we have a reference, from Gujarat, to a tax-farm of a village given in a prince's *Jagir* to a *Khwaja*, described as "the prince of revenue-farmers, chief of merchants".[33] But this practice could be oppressive on peasants. There were imperial orders to check this. In 1676, Aurangzeb had forbidden the practice of revenue-farming in Gujarat, within both the *khalsa* and *jagirs.*[34]

Out of their *jagirs,* the princes sometimes granted *jagirs* to their own officials. There is a detailed order of Princess Jahan Ara (1644) for the sub-assignment of *mahals* within *sarkar* Surat (then in her *jagir*) to her *khalisa* as well as to her *mansabdars*. The sub-assignments were made on the basis of *hal-i hasil* (actual revenue) as recorded by the imperial finance ministry (*diwanian-i 'uzzam*). The order goes on to lay down what should be done were the *mansabdars* to decline acceptance of some *mahals* on the basis of the given *hal-i hasil*.[35]

The apportionment of a *pargana* among several *jagirs,* a phenomenon known as *mutafarriqa 'amal,* was held to be ruinous in its results; and the official preference was for granting whole (*dar bast*) *parganas* to single assignees, as far as possible.[36] In *sarkar* Patan, *pargana* Tervada, according to *Mir'at*, having few villages belonging to Rajputs, was usually assigned *dar bast* in the salary of a single *jagirdar.* [37]

33 Ms. Blochet 482 *BN* f.12a.
34 *Mir'at*, I, p.292.
35 Ms.Blochet 482 *BN* ff.33a-34a.
36 *Agrarian System*, pp.326-327.
37 *Mir'at*, supplt.pp.201-202.

Jagirdars could be oppressive on peasants. In the 8th regnal of Aurangzeb, an imperial order was issued which specifically condemns the action of the *jagirdars* in Gujarat, who attempted to extort from the peasants through fraudulent means a larger amount than they were entitled to. The *Mir'at* says that while in theory the *jagirdars* demanded only half, in actual practice more than the total yield could be claimed.[38]

It also seems to have been a common practice to demand arrears, owned by peasants who had fled or died, from their neighbours. A *hasbu-l hukum*, issued in 1672-73, from Aurangzeb's court, seeks to check this practice in both the *khalisa* and the assignments of the *jagirdars*: no peasant could be held liable for arrears contracted by any other; and only arrears from the year immediately preceding were to be recovered, all older arrears being written off.[39]

From documents of seventeenth century, it appears that migration of peasants from their original place was quite prevalent in Gujarat. In early 1630s, Jahan Ara had *jagirs* in Gujarat, comprising the *pargana* of Basrahi and other *parganas* in *sarkar* Broach.[40] In one order, Princess Jahan Ara, in 1632, refers to the flight of seventy peasants from the *pargana* Maqbulabad (in *sarkar* Broach) in the *jagir* of a person named Nurullah Beg, to her *jagir* in *pargana* Basrahi and other places (within *sarkar* Broach). She instructed that the peasants of Nurullah Beg's *jagir*, should not be allowed to stay on in the *pargana* of Basrahi and should be handed over through persuasion to the men of Nurullah Beg. In fact, she was here responding to the plea of Nurullah Beg,

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38 *Mir'at*, I, p. 263.
39 *Ibid.* p.290-91.
40 Ms.Blochet 482 *BN* ff.98b-99a;I.Habib Atlas has it as Vasrahi in Broach. (Sheet 7A).

his *gumashta* having petitioned her in this regard.[41] While this refers to flight of peasants quite early in Shahjahan's reign, it also suggests that Jahan Ara's *jagirs* were well administered and less oppressive one, attracting peasants from nearby areas.

But, in next decade, it was Shahjahan's *farman* that brought to light a problem in the *jagirs* of Jahan Ara in the beginning of the year 1646.The peasants of the *parganas* of *sarkar* Surat (then in Jahan Ara's *jagir*) and of *pargana* Olpar, in *sarkar* Broach had fled to other places in *sarkar* Broach, Baroda etc of *suba* Ahmadabad and had settled there, causing loss of income from her *mahals*. It was ordered that the *jagirdars* of Baroda, Broach etc to return 'everyone of the peasants of *sarkar* Surat and Broach, belonging to Her Highness *jagir*, who within five years preceding the issuance of this *farman* has been staying in by giving assurances and they be handed over to the officials of Her Highness' establishment so that they may encourage them to go back and settle in their original places'.[42]

Sometimes, *jagirdars* were not inclined to follow imperial regulations. In c.1619, Kaiqubad Mahyar, tells that he obtained the post of *desai* of two *parganas* of *sarkar* Surat through an imperial *farman* but he was illegally deposed by two *jagirdars* of the place.[43] The Emperor often ordered enquiries into the administration of various *jagirdars*. In 1692, in such an enquiry, imperial court deputed officers to Gujarat to collect information about *hasil* or revenue collections in various *parganas* and the *muwazana-i dah sala* of the

41 Ms. Blochet 482 *BN* ff.98b-99a.
42 Ibid. ff.94b-95a.
43 J.J. Modi, *Dastur Kaikobad Mahyar's Petition and Laudatory Poem Addressed to Jahangir and Shahajahan*, Bombay, 1930, pp. 12-14.

province. But it was reported that the *jagirdars* in Gujarat were preventing *desais* and *muqaddams* from providing information about *hasil* or revenue collections to the officers sent from the Court to collect such information. The Governor of Gujarat thereupon sent *sazawals* or special officials to compel the *jagirdars* to obey orders and allow the imperial officers to collect information freely.[44]

A *Farman* of Aurangzeb preserved in the *Mir'at-i Ahmadi* illustrates the variety of ways in which *jagirdars* in Gujarat squeezed trade and commerce through illegal cesses and impositions.

Aurangzeb directed the *jagirdars* of the province of Gujarat not to realize cesses such as *rahdari* (road tolls), *mahi* (tax on fishermen on bringing the fish for sale in the market), *mallahi* (Impost on merchants, traders and travelers at the ferries), *tarkari* (tax on vegetables brought in the market by the peasants), *tahbazari* (ground rent levied on shop keepers) etc**.** which had been abolished, from the traders and merchants. They were not to purchase grain, etc, at a low price and sell it at a higher price. They were not to accept any *peshkash* offered on behalf of the grain dealers and other merchants and traders. The Emperor further directed them not to impose other illegal cesses on the business community**.**[45]

In 1686, a proclamation was issued by Shahwardi Khan, *faujdar* of Sorath. This proclamation was inscribed also at places like Prabhs Patan, Mangrol and Junagadh (all in Sorath area). This proclamation refers to a pledge by said *faujdar* to refrain himself from the forced sale of grain from his *jagir*

44 *Mir'at*, I, pp.326-27.
45 *Ibid.*, pp.286-88.

to merchants at high prices and from imposing prohibited *abwab* (taxes) such as *faru'iyat* .[46]

Khalsa

Khalsa land was quite extensive in the economically important province of Gujarat. Its proportion in relation to the total *jama'*of province was 11.28% (fourth highest in a tally of all provinces) and its proportion in relation to *hasil-i kamil* (revenue realized in year of maximum collection) was 19.70% (second highest in all *subas*).[47]

It appears that main criterion for the suitability of an area for inclusion in the *khalisa* was high yielding capacity of the land. According to Hawkins, "he [the king] taketh" any land "for him self (if it be rich ground and likely to yield much)".[48] In Mughal Gujarat, the *parganas* of Petlad and Dholka in *sarkar* Ahmadabad were used be in *khalsa*.[49]The *pargana* Petlad had a *jama'*of 3, 49,08,2220 *dams* in 1595-96, the highest in all 32 *mahals* of *sarkar* Ahmadabad. At closing years of Aurangzeb, this *mahal* of Petlad yielded a *jama'*of 2, 02, 58,119 *dams* which was third highest after *mahals* Haveli Ahmadabad and Kadi. In 1719, according to *Mir'at*, it had a *jama'*of 5, 69, 00,972, second highest in the *sarkar* of Ahmadabad.[50]Likewise, the *pargana* of Dholka was also a high yielding area. According to Abu-l Fazl, it had a yield of 1, 01, 88,105 *dams* in 1595-96. At the closing years of Aurangzeb's reign, it had a *jama'*of 1, 66, 93,250 *dams.* According to *Mir'at*, in 1719, the *pargana* of Dholka had a *jama'*of 2, 17, 00,099 *dams*.[51]

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46 *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement* , 1955 and 1956, ed. Z.A.Desai, pp.99-101.
47 *Agrarian System*, p.316.(These figures are based on *Dasturu l 'Amal-i Shahjahani* datable to 1701-02).
48 Hawkins, *Early Travels*, p.114.
49 *Mir'at*, supplt. pp.194, 195.
50 For these figures, see Table of Revenue Statistics (Appendix of chapter 9).
51 *Ibid.*

Chapter XI

Agrarian Structure

AGRARIAN STRUCTURE

(a) Zamindars and Other Intermediaries

In Gujarat, there were two types of *zamindars* – tributary chiefs and ordinary *zamindars*, the latter within the territories directly under the imperial administration. In Gujarat, the territories under direct imperial administration were, further, divided between *rai'yati* villages and *ta'alluqa* of *zamindars*. For instance, in *Mir'at* supplement, certain *mahals* of *sarkar* Sorath are shown as *rai'yati* and the rest of the *mahals* are shown as held by *zamindars*.[1] In *pargana* Idar (*sarkar* Ahmadabad), *Mir'at* says, there were 786 villages, out of it, 290 were under the control of *zamindars* who were *ghair amli*(not under imperial control).[2] In *sarkar* Patan, *pargana* Palanpur had a total of 179 villages; out of it, 29 were under the control of *zamindars*.[3] Of the *zamindari* villages, a large number were left entirely in the possession of *zamindars*, but others were divided into two portions, the revenues of one of which, the *banth* or *vanta*, were to be retained by the *zamindars*, and of the other, the *talpad* or modern Gujarati *talpat* were to be collected by the Mughal administration. This arrangement was made by the Mughal authorities with the *zamindars* of Gujarat during the viceroyalty of Mirza Aziz Koka (1588-92) during the reign of Akbar.[4] This was not a new arrangement affected by the Mughals, but appears to have been current even in Gujarat Sultanate times.[5]

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1 *Mir'at*, supplt.pp.215-17. A.Rogers designates them "*rasti*" and "*mewasi*". (A.Rogers, *Land Revenue of Bombay*, I,pp.13-15).
2 *Ibid*. p.190.
3 *Ibid*. pp.200-201.
4 *Mir'at*, I, pp.173-174.
5 *Mir'at Sikandari*, pp.363-64.

On his land, *zamindars* used to enjoy a number of rights and cesses based on his proprietary right or *haqq-i milkiyat.*[6] One such right was *malikana.* So long as he enjoyed his original right, it was for him to collect his dues. But if he was to be divested of his authority by the administration, then he became entitled to some recompense for his lost income. This was called *malikana*. It was allowed only when the state directly assessed and collected the land revenue, by-passing the *zamindar*. The normal rate of *malikana* was ten per cent of the total revenue collected. But in Gujarat *suba*, this rate was twenty five per cent.[7] There was another source of income of *zamindars*. It arose out of his position as a servant of the state, a cog in the machinery of revenue collection. For his services in collecting and remitting revenue, the *zamindars* received a "subsistence" allowance, called *nankar*, ranging from 5 to 10 per cent of the revenue, paid in money(as deduction from the gross revenue collection) or in the form of revenue-exempt land. So, *zamindar*'s total income in relation to land revenue was 15 to 20 per cent (10 per cent *malikana* and 5 to 10 per cent *nankar*). In Gujarat, it was 30 to 35 per cent due to higher rate of *malikana*.[8]

As already seen, in Gujarat, the *zamindars*' land was divided into two parts, the *talpad*, which was three-fourths of it, and the *banth*, which was one-fourth, the revenue from the former being taken by the authorities and the latter by *zamindars*. The *banth*, being one-fourth, represented a higher proportion of the land than *malikana*, which amounted usually to one-tenth of the land (twenty five per cent in Gujarat). But both were identical in nature. Thus *banth*,

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6 For these rights and cesses, see *Agrarian System*, pp.177-187.
7 *The Economy of the Mughal Empire, c.1595*, p.175.
8 *Ibid.*

like *malikana*, could also take a money form. This was obviously what happened in 1677-78 in the case of *zamindar* of Porbandar. At that time, the port was placed in *khalisa.* The Mughal authorities paid one-fourth of the total revenues of the port to the *zamindar* of the place.[9] Presumably, the revenue of the entire land of the *zamindar* was collected by the administration, which then paid him a fourth of the collections.

Further, *madad-i ma'ash holders* were exempted from many obligations and impositions like *dahnimi*, *zabitana*, *muhrana* etc but they had to pay the *zamindars* their *haqq-i milkiyat,* or the *malik/zamindars'* claim on the land.[10]

In Gujarat, the sale of land by *zamindars* was an established practice. Akbar is said to have laid down the obligation of the buyer in respect of revenue on land sold by the *zamindar.* This land was known as *bechan* (sold). It was decided to collect half *mahsul* from the buyer of these lands.[11]

As we have seen, in the 'directly' administered areas, *zamindars* were a major support of the Mughal land revenue machinery.

The *Akhbarat* of Prince A'zam contain references to *zamindars* both submissive (revenue paying) as well as seditious (*zor talab*) in the directly governed areas of the *suba*.[12] *Zamindars* were considered submissive if they normally cooperated with the administration and paid their *peshkash* regularly. In return the Mughals accommodated them in the state administrative set up. In 47th regnal year of Aurangzeb, a *zamindar* of *pargana* Jhalawar (Viramgoan) in *sarkar* Ahmadabad, paid a peshkash of Rs 30,000/- and was accommodated in

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9 *Mir'at*, I,p.288.
10 *Agrarian System*, p.347.
11 *Mir'at*,I, p.173.For "vechania"(bechan) land, see A.Rogers, *Land Revenue of Bombay*, I,p.175.
12 *Akhbarat* A, 11,21,39,62,63,66,68,75,82,84,145,186,192.

the state service at the recommendation of the *faujdar* of the area.[13] In one instance, koli *zamindar* and his brothers of a village in *pargana* Kadi which was in *jagir* to Khalil Beg were granted with presents and *khilats* by the Governor on one of its hunting expedition. Reason was that they were submissive and due their efforts, the *band-u-bast* (administration) of the area was *mustahkam* (strong).[14] In 47[th], it was reported that a *zamindar* named Kishen Singh of *pargana* Dholka, a *khalsa* territory had become rebellious (*mufsid*) and had been expelled from the area and had taken shelter in the neighbouring *parganas*.[15] In addition to it, some of the *parganas* were reported to be *zor talab* and *mahwasi* due to the activities of kolis like Kapadwanj and Azamabad in *sarkar* Ahmadabad and Chaurasi in port Cambay. [16]

As we have seen that, the Mughal state made arrangements with the *zamindars* of Gujarat during the viceroyalty of Khan-i A'zam, Mirza Aziz Koka (1589-92) in the reign of Akbar. Under this arrangement, it was decided that *zamindars* of entire villages (*dehat-i dar-o bast*) and principalities (*makanat-i 'umda*) would bring their horses or contingent for branding and verification.[17] So from time to time, rules for branding were formulated for *zamindars* as well with other *mansabdars* of the Empire. According to a *dasturu-l 'amal* of 1652-53 of Shahjahan's reign, *zamindars* had to brought half of their contingents for branding as it was done in previous times.[18]

An important word used very often in conjunction with *zamindars* in Gujarat was *giras.* In fact, it was an exaction by *zamindars* from *ra'iyati* or

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13 *Akhbarat* A , 192.
14 *Akhbarat* A, 62,63.
15 *Akhbarat* A,145.
16 *Akhbarat* A,75,84,186.
17 *Mir'at*, I, pp.173-74.
18 *Mir'at*, I, p.229.

peasant held villages outside the exactor's *zamindari*. It was illegal in nature and derived from the threat or actual exercise of force.[19] The *girasyas* (persons claiming *giras*) or in other words *zamindars* created problems to Mughal authorities in Gujarat *suba*. In 1621, Yaqub Beg, in charge of Baroda went to tackle the *grasiyas* near Baroda.[20] Usually, they put Mughal authorities in trouble by making peasants of other villages subject to exaction of *giras.* In a document of Shahjahan's reign, dated 1644, the *zamindar* of Pitalwara (?) along with other rebels, was reportedly collecting *giras* every year and officials were instructed to suppress them.[21] About *grasiyas*, Hamilton reported in connection with an incident of 1705 and other disorders, that "Gracias" were dissatisfied with the "Nabobs"(nawwab, "deputies",Mughal officials) over the "ground Rents" and so "to put the Governors of Towns and villages in mind of the Contract[with them, they] come in great numbers, and plunder or lay them in contribution".[22]

In the penal code, containing 33 codes and drafted during the reign of Aurangzeb, sent to state officials for their guidance in the administration of justice, death punishment was laid down for the *grasiyas* of Gujarat in the public interest.[23]

Muqaddam

The village headman or *muqaddams* who in Gujarat called *patels* also claimed a share in the land revenue. They came from the ranks of village

19 *Agrarian System*, p.184;
20 *EFI* 1618-21, p.299.
21 Ms.Blochet 482 *BN* ff.27b-28a.
22 Alexander Hamilton, A New Account of the East Indies …. from the year 1688 to 1723, ed. W. Foster, 2 vols. London, 1930, I, p.88.
23 *Mir'at*, I, p.279.

oligarchs. In Jahangir's reign in *pargana* Navsari (in *sarkar* Surat) "there were many Brahmans, who carried on cultivation like peasants (*ra'iyat*); those from amongst them who are big men (*kalan),* came to be *muqaddams* in those villages.[24] The collection of revenue from individual peasants was mainly the responsibility of the village headman.[25] For this service he was remunerated either through being assigned 2.5 % of the assessed land of his village revenue-free or through being allowed to keep 2.5% of the total revenue collected as his share.[26] From the evidence of the *Mir'at*, it appears that there was a 5 % charge on the revenue which was equally divided between the *muqaddam* and the *desai.*[27] In a number of *madad-i ma'ash* documents from Gujarat the list of taxes remitted to the grantee includes a cess called *dahnimi.*[28] It can also be known as *muqaddami.*[29] It was *muqaddam*'s allowance levied by him on revenue payers amounting to one-twentieth of revenue. In times of crisis, when peasants were ruined due to some reason, this cess could be remitted. In 1605, the peasants of a village in *sarkar* Surat were ruined due to the activities of rebels [may be rebellious zamindars?], so there was a petition to remit the cesses like *muqaddami* and *desaigiri*.[30]

In addition to their legal claim of 2.5%, the headman might make unauthorized collection from weaker peasants. In 1646, there was a complaint

24 *DasturKaikobad Mahyar's Petition and Laudatory Poem Addressed to Jahangir and Shahjahan*, 1930,pp.12-13.
25 *A'in*, I, p.285; *EFI* 1622-23,pp.253-54.
26 *A'in*, I, p.285.
27 *Mir'at*, I, p.173.
28 J.J.Modi, *The Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherjee Rana,* Bombay, 1903, pp. (Document 1 and 2)
29 Ms. Blochet 486 *BN* ff.29b-30a.
30 *Ibid.* ff.29b-30a.

against village headman (*patels)* of *pargana* Kamrej in *sarkar* Patan who impose illegal obligations over people of the place.[31]

It appears that the headman's jurisdiction over the village was not purely financial, and they possessed in addition, the right of allotting the unsettled land of the village to peasants who wished to till it. De Jongh says, "Anyone who wants to cultivate any land goes to the headmen of the village, who are called *mukaddams* and asks for as much land as he wants at the place which suits him. This is rarely refused, but always granted".[32]

Desais or Chaudharis

Under Mughals, the concept of *zamindars* as a servant of state in the collection of revenue brought it very close, in essentials, to the office of the *chaudhari.* According to I.Habib, *chaudhari* was invariably a *zamindar* and in most cases he was the leading *zamindar* of the locality.[33]

The *chaudhari*, called *desai* in Gujarat was an important functionary in the Mughal revenue administration at *pargana* level. Even though in all other respects the pattern of *pargana* administration in Gujarat was similar to that in other *subas* in northern India, the existence of the office of *desai* as the government official and as the representative of the *ryots* was exclusive to Mughal Gujarat. The office of *desai* had pre-Mughal existence in the Gujarat. Two documents (one sale deed and other an order by consent) of pre-Mughal era (of Gujarat Sultanate times) from Navsari area of Surat have shown that office of *desai* was existed in pre-Mughal Gujarat and it was also hereditary in

31 *Ibid*., f.141b
32 De Jongh, *JIH*, IV, pp.78-79.
33 *Agrarian System*, pp.335-336.

nature.[34] This negated the assumption that in Gujarat, the title *Desai* owes its inception to Todar Mal of Akbar's reign.[35] It appears from the *Mir'at-i Ahmadi* that office of *desai* was accommodated in the Mughal revenue administrative machinery by Raja Todar Mal, who was twice (1574 and 1576-77) deputed to settle the *jama'*of Gujarat. During his reorganization of land revenue administration of the *suba*, he appointed *desais* in all *mahals*.[36]

The office of *desai* was usually hereditary, but an imperial *sanad* had to be secured by each incumbent.[37] He could also be deprived of his office by an imperial order. Aurangzeb ordered that if there were too many *chaudharis* in any *pargana*, all but two were to be dismissed.[38]

The *desai*'s office existed both in the *khalisa* and *jagir* lands.[39] He also functioned in the area under the jurisdiction of *zamindars*.[40] *Deasis* were mainly responsible for the collection of land revenue. In 1703-04, Amanullah Beg, *faujdar-i gird* of Ahmadabad was ordered to take bonds for tribute (*tamassukat-i zar-i peshkash*) from the *desais* of the vicinity of Ahmadabad.[41]

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34 These documents are discussed in *Studies in Parsi History*, pp.151-164.; For the presence of *desais* under Gujarat Sultanate, also see, M.N.Pearson, *op.cit.*, 1976, p.140.

35 See B.R.Grover, 'The Position of *Desai* in the *Pargana* Administration of *suba* Gujarat under Mughals' ,*PIHC*, 24th session,1961,Delhi, pp.150-55.

36 *Mir'at*, I, pp.131-32,134-35, 173; *Mir'at*, supplt. p.228.

37 Kaiqubad Mahyar c.1619 tells of how he obtained the post of *desai* of two *parganas* of *sarkar* Surat through an imperial *farman*. (*Dastur Kaikubad Mahyar's Petition and Laudatory Poem Addressed to Jahangir and Shahjahan*, Bombay,1930, pp.12-14.)

38 *Mir'at*, I, p.263.

39 *Ibid.*, pp.173,326-327.

40 *Mir'at*, supplt. p.233 states that under the Sultans of Gujarat the zamindar of Rajpipla as feudatory chief had one-fourth of land in the *pargana* of Nandod with 16 *parganas* near Nandurbar. When his territory was conquered by Akbar, the *zamindar* met Raja Todar Mal and explained his position. He was allowed with his previous possessions on the condition of serving with 1,000 horses…..*Desais*,*Qazis* and *waqianigars* were appointed in his territory by the government.Also pp.228-239 give details of the *peshkash* (tribute) paid by *desais* as well as the *zamindars* in the *zamindar parganas* of *suba* Gujarat.

41 *Akhbarat* A, 11.

They were to report all happenings in their areas to the state authorities. In 1683-84, *sarkar* Sorath was granted in *Jagir* to Prince A'zam. But there was delay in the appointment of *faujdar* and agents of the Prince to the Sorath. In the meantime, the *desai* of the area reported to the authorities that rebels (*mufsid*) considering the area without *faujdar* plundered the some villages of the said *sarkar*. [42]

For the proper discharge of his duties, he was provided with a staff of horsemen and footmen.[43] *Desais*, sometimes, misused their official position. In one complaint against *desai* of Sopa, a *pargana* in *sarkar* Surat, it is reported that the said official had realized the *malba* (exactions) from the peasants illegally and forcibly arrested 22 persons. It was also reported that the *desai* had cultivated land worth 7,000 *mahmudis*, on which he paid nothing and transferred the burden to other peasants.[44]

It is probable that the scale of remuneration allowed to the *chaudharis* varied considerably. The *Mir'at* says the desais were first allowed 2.5 per cent of the revenue under Akbar, but this was later reduced to 1.25 per cent and ultimately, to 5/8 per cent.[45] In addition to remuneration, it is probable that they also held extensive revenue-free (*in 'am*) lands. An oppressive *desai* in *pargana* Sopa, *sarkar* Surat, cultivated land worth 7,000 *mahmudis* (in revenue?), on which he paid nothing transferring the burden to other peasants.[46]

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42 *Mir'at*, I, pp.306-307.
43 Ms. Blochet 482 *BN* f.153a.
44 *Ibid.*, f.171b.
45 *Mir'at*, I, p.173; *Mir'at*, supplt.p.228.
46 *Parwancha* of Sadiq Khan, dated 1596-97 in Ms. Blochet 482 *BN* f.171b.

Desai's remuneration along with that of *muqaddam* could also be remitted in times of distress on peasants due to any reason.[47]

(b) Peasants' Rights and Obligations

In Mughal India, peasants had both rights as well as obligations. For Gujarat *suba*, we have information in the form of an Aurangzeb's *farman* to Muhammad Hashim and extant local documents.

According to P.Saran, in Mughal India, the peasants were the ultimate proprietors of land.[48] But his argument lacked much evidence. For Gujarat, Aurangzeb's *farman* to Muhammad Hashim,[49] *diwan* of Gujarat, issued in 1668-69 defines peasants rights on land. In this *farman*, the terms *malik* and *arbab-i zamin* (land owners) has been used for the actual cultivators of land and full rights of sale and mortgage are invested in them.[50] Further, certain provisions and statements in the *farman* and else where suggest recognition of the peasants' right to permanent and hereditary occupancy. The Article 13 of the above quoted *farman* provides that if the cultivator *malik* was found incapable of cultivating the land or abandoned it altogether, it was to be given to another for cultivation, so that there was no loss of revenue. But if at any time the original *malik* recovered his ability to cultivate the land, or returned to it, the land was to be restored to him. Further, *madad-i ma'ash* holders were not expected to interfere with the peasants already in occupation. In this regard, there was already a rule framed during the Akbar's reign. His regulations

47 Ms. Blochet 482 *BN* ff.29b-30a.

48 *Provincial Government under Mughals*, pp.328-35.

49 *Mir'at*, I, pp.268-72. The text of this farman and its translation has also been published by J.N.Sarkar in *JASB*, N.S. II, 1906, pp. 238-49.

50 *Farman* to Muhammad Hashim, Article 13, *Mir'at*,I, p.271. For other regions of Mughal Empire, there are other official documents on the basis of which it can be assumed that peasants possessed ownership rights. For details see *Agrarian System*, pp.126-127.

exhorted the revenue officials to ensure that the revenue grantees (*madad-i ma ‘ash* holders) did not convert “peasants’ holdings” (*ra‘iyat- kashta*) into their own “personally cultivated holdings” (*khwud-kashta*).[51] For Gujarat, the significance of this regulation has been brought out exceptionally well by a survey (1596) of a revenue grant in Navsari, near Surat. In this survey, the *ra‘iyati* (peasant-held) and *khwud-kashta* lands (cultivated by the grantees themselves) are sharply distinguished and specified separately. It gives not only the area of the *ra ‘iyati* land, but also names of the peasants and the areas under different crops sown by them.[52] Further, as a general rule, Jahangir’s accession decrees prohibited the revenue officials themselves from forcibly converting the land of the peasants (*zamin-i ri ‘aya*) into their own holdings (*khwud-kashta*).[53]

According to *A’in*, it is king’s obligation to protect peasants “who had cultivated lands for generations”.[54] Under the pretext of this duty, peasants’ hereditary claims over land seem to have been admitted. Further, Article 11 of *farman* to Muhammad Hashim, discusses how the land revenue was to be realized from the heirs on the death of a cultivating *malik*. Moreover, the same *farman* suggests that land could be sold by the cultivators.

In addition to these rights, peasants in Mughal India had obligations as well. As we have seen, peasants, officially, possessed ownership and hereditary claims over the land they cultivated as well as had saleable right over it, but it

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51 *A’ in*, I, 287.

52 Document No.4 in *Parsees at the Court of Akbar*, photo print ; For a reproduction, analysis and translation of this document, see I.Habib, Agricultural and Agrarian Conditions of South Gujarat, 1596, Mysore,246-62.

53 *Tuzuk* ,p.4.

54 *A’in*, I, 290.

was insisted that they should remain in their original place to cultivate the soil. In fact, they did not have the free or absolute right to remove himself from the soil they cultivated. There was no freedom of mobility and right to refuse to cultivate if he wished. Due to these constraints, a European traveller observed, in respect of the Gujarat peasants, "little difference between them and serfs such as are found in Poland, for here [too] the peasants must all sow ………".[55] Aurangzeb's *farman* to Muhammad Hashim, Article 2 insists upon this obligation of the peasants when it says that, "if after investigation it appears that despite their capacity to undertake cultivation and [the availability of] irrigation, they withdrawn their hands from cultivation", the revenue officials should "coerce and threaten them and visit them with corporal punishment".[56]

For Gujarat, documents dealing with specific cases show how the peasants' obligation to remain in his original place to cultivate the soil was insisted upon. In 1646 the Emperor ordered the *jagirdars* of Broach, Baroda, etc. to return the peasants who within the previous five years had migrated from *sarkar* Surat and *pargana* Olpad in the *jagir* of Princess Jahan Ara.[57]Earlier in 1632 when seventy peasants had fled from *pargana* Maqbulabad into Jahan Ara's *jagirs* in Southern Gujarat, she had ordered that they be handed over to the men of the *jagirdar* of *pargana* Maqbulabad.[58]Two interesting cases of individual peasants come from the same collection of documents. In a document of 1617-18, we read how Khanji, a cultivator

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55 De jongh, *JIH*,IV,p.78.

56 Article 2, *Mir'at*, I, p.269.

57 Ms. Blochet 482, f.94b.

58 *Ibid*, ff.98b-99b.See also *ibid*, ff.40b-42a,50a-b,154a and 163b-164a, 169b where officials ask others for return of peasants who had left their original places.

(*muzari'*) of a village in *pargana* Batlari, quarrelling with headman of his village, had fled to the neighbouring *pargana* of Uklesar(Ankleshwar) in *sarkar* Broach, was detained for 2 months by its *shiqdar* (revenue collector) and then handed over to the headman of yet another village, presumably to engage in cultivation. Orders were issued that he should be immediately returned to his original village.[59] In another document (1635-38) we find a cultivator, Ishaq, reporting that he had left his original village Khanchauli in *pargana* Chaurasi, *sarkar* Surat, a few years earlier to go to Daman, and had returned thence to Bulsar to engage in cultivation on short leases (*ganvat*); when the *desai* of Bulsar tried to fix a permanent rate (*zabti*) on him, he went to village Rajwara, *pargana* Chikli; and from here the *desai* of *pargana* Chaurasi finally took him to his original place. But the *desai* of Bulsar now laid claim to his person and was pressing the headman of Rajwara to produce him. Orders were now issued that the *desai* of Bulsar could not claim him just on account of the two years of short-lease cultivation; he rightfully belonged to his original village in *pargana* Chaurasi.[60]

It was probably because of the importance of the tie to one's original village that a very widespread distinction came to be made between the original place where one was under obligation to cultivate under compulsion and any other place where one went voluntarily as an outsider. Such an outsider would be called *paikasht* or *pahi*.[61] An imperial order of 1634 to the governor of Gujarat recites that some peasants from *pargana* Cambay

59 *Ibid*, f.152a-b.
60 *Ibid*,f.166b. For *ganvat*,see A.Rogers, *Land Revenue of Bombay*, I, p.172.
61 *Paikasht* peasants are those who have their homes in villages different from the one where they carry on cultivation whereas *khwud kasht* peasants are those who had homes in the same *pargana*.For detailed discussion see *Agrarian System*, p.131 n 45.

(Khambayat) had gone into *pargana* Petlad to cultivate the land by way of *pai-kashta* .When some of them died, the agents of the governor and other *jagirdars* of *pargana* Cambay (Khambayat) to cultivate the land they tilled, or to force the surviving *paikars* (*paikasht*) peasants to cultivate more land. Both the actions were held improper and so prohibited. [62]Clearly, the *paikasht* peasants were thought to be exempt from the obligation to stay on and cultivate the land to which the native peasants were subject.

But as migrants they could always be forced to return to their original places. Thus in 1641 the Jam of Navanagar was compelled , after a successful expedition against him, "to expel peasants belonging to the territory around Ahmadabad, who had migrated in to his country so that they might return to their homes and [native]places.[63]

The willingness of the state to recognize peasant's right of occupancy, and its anxiety to prevent him from leaving the land, were both natural in an age when land was relatively abundant, and peasants scarce. A Dutch observer, writing about 1629, i.e. before the great famine of 1630-32, declared that "not one-tenth of the land is cultivated," and so anyone could obtain land to till wherever he wanted.[64] This statement is possibly an exaggeration but it is certain that land was in abundance. According to Irfan Habib, in Mughal Gujarat, the area under cultivation was three-fifth of the area under cultivation at the beginning of the twentieth century.[65]

62 Ms Blochet 482 *BN* f.43a.
63 Lahori, II, p.232; *Mir'at*, I, p.214.
64 De Jongh, p.79.
65 *Agrarian System*, p.19.

(c) Village Community

It is, now, a established fact that the institution of village community existed in the Mughal India. The main feature of village community as it existed under the Mughals was the consideration of village, and not an individual, as the fiscal unit for the purpose of both assessment and collection of land revenue. Existence of hereditary local officials like *muqaddams*, *patwaris* responsible for the collection of state revenue demand and existence of financial pool or village fund functioning as corporate body were the other main features of village community.[66]

In Mughal India, generally, the state officials were not concerned with individual peasants' share of revenue and its collection. Rather, it was the function of the headmen (*muqaddams*), whose position was hereditary;[67] and the accounts of what was assessed on individual peasants collected from them, and paid to the state officials was kept by another hereditary village worthy, the *patwari*. He is described by Abul Fazl as 'an accountant from the side of the peasants: he records the expenditure [tax payments] and income [tax collections]; and there is no village without him.[68] The village had thus an internal traditional machinery of its own, which, though subordinate to the state, was not a part of it.

In Gujarat *suba*, too, village community was in vogue. From the local extant source from Gujarat, it is evident that both the hereditary offices of *patwari* and *muqaddam* were in existence.[69] Further, there was, also, a concept

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66 For full discussion on Village Community in Mughal India, see *Agrarian System*, pp.144-160.

67 *Ibid.*, pp.160-163.

68 *A'in*, I, p.300; Cf. I.Habib,pp.152-153, 166-168.

69 Ms Blochet 482 *BN* ff. 153b-154a (for *patwari*) & ff. 87b-88a, 119b, 152b-154a (for *muqaddam*)

of financial pool in the villages of Gujarat *suba*. Generally, from the financial pool of the village, revenue demand of the state, fees and perquisites of village officials and village expenses (*kharj*-i *deh* or *deh kharj* or *malba*) were met out.[70] In one complaint against *desai* of Sopa, a *pargana* of *sarkar* Surat, it is reported that the said official had realized the *malba* (village expenses) from the peasants illegally and forcibly arrested 22 persons.[71] It also seems that repayment of loans to the moneylenders was also made out of this *malba*. For example, *Patel* of a village in Broach (in 1776) contracted a loan on the behalf of the village when it was assessed beyond its capacities.[72]

Further, in Gujarat *suba*, there was existed *vanth* (*banth*) or tax-free lands for the payment to the village servants and artisans whose presence was essential for agricultural work and for meeting the very elementary needs of the villagers. In 1776 when the English had obtained the administration of Broach in Gujarat, the collector sent by them to oversee tax collections reported: That a certain portion of land of each village is requisite to be set apart [tax free] for maintenance of such artificers and labourers as are absolutely necessary for the common services of the village is, according to the custom of the country true.[73] In other words, in Gujarat, not only were village artisans and servants allowed plots of land free to sustain themselves while offering either public services or individual services to villagers, but these allotments were also recognized by the Mughal state, which did not assess them for land tax.

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70 *Agrarian System*, pp.153-154.

71 Ms Blochet 482 *BN* ff. 170b-171b.

72 See George Perott's Report from Broach, 1776, in *Selection from the Bombay Secretariat, Home,* II, p.183.

73 *Ibid*. p.181.

Chapter XII

Revenue Grants

REVENUE GRANTS

The practice of giving land grants to certain favoured section of the population has been a prerogative of the royalty from very ancient times. Our sources show that grants by which the king alienated his right to collect land revenue and other taxes from the area assigned to grantee was a common feature of Mughal administration in Gujarat. The grants in cash were known as *wazifa* while those in land were designated *milk* or *madad-i ma'ash*. Abul Fazl has dealt with these two kinds of grants - cash and land, under the Turkish term *suyurghal*.[1]

There was separate imperial department charged with looking after these grants. It was presided over by the *sadr* or *sadru-s Sudur* at the imperial court, under whom were placed the provincial *sadrs*(*sadr-i juzv*)and at a still lower level(i. e. at *pargana* level) officers known as *mutawallis*.[2] The disbursement of the imperial charities in the provinces was the duty of the provincial *sadr* (*sadr-i juzv*) and at the *pargana* level the *mutawalli* performed this duty.[3]

The provincial *sadr* was appointed by virtue of a *sanad* bearing the seal of *sadr-us Sudur*. He held a *zat* and a *sawar* rank. The office carried with it a conditional rank of 50 *zat* and 10 *sawar*. The *qazis,* the *muhtasibs,* the *Imams*, the *mutawallis* of tombs and the *muezzins* served under him and received their letters of appointment from his office. The *sanads* relating to

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1 *A'in*,I,p.198

2 For the nature and history of this department, see Ibn Hasan, *Central Structure of the Mughal Empire and its Practical Working up to the Year 1657*,Delhi,1970,Chapter viii, and Rafat M. Bilgrami, *op.cit.*, Chapters II and III.

3 *Ibid*.,p.9.

madad-i ma'ash, *wazifa* and *rozinah* were submitted to him for verification and confirmation. Papers relating to the resumption of the *madad-i ma'ash* lands bore his seal and signatures.[4]

In the disbursement of the *madad-i ma'ash* grants in the provinces, the provincial *sadr* had crucial role to play. He was expected to perform the following functions in this regard:-

a. To check the grants of the dead and the absconding grantees, and also of those who had occupied land at two different places on strength of the same sanad (*do-ja'i*) or through fraud and forgery (*libasi*).

b. To scrutinize the list of the local grantees and to make inquiry about their claims. He was expected to deduct from the grants of undeserving grantees and to distribute it to the needy.

c. To examine the cases of the deceased grantees and the needs of heirs. If the expenses of the heirs exceeded their share in the grant, the share of the deceased (*hissa-i fauti*) was not to be deducted; or if deducted, it was to be in accordance with the condition of the grantee.

d. He was also to take care of the grantees. If the *jagirdar* had a claim against them, the enquiry was to be conducted in the *jagirdar*'s presence so as to save the grantees from the *wakil* of the *jagirdar*.[5]

Due to these functions, the office of provincial *sadr*, sometimes, was also source of corruption. In the initial years of Mughal rule in Gujarat, this office of provincial *sadr* came into disrepute due to activities of Haji Ibrahim

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4 *Mir'at*, supplt.p.173.

5 These functions are listed by Rafat Bilgrami (p.10)in her book based on information given in Mazhar-i Shahjahani.

Sirhindi. He was given the post of provincial *sadr* of Gujarat in 1578.[6]While *sadr* of Gujarat, he showed the baseness of his nature. According to Badauni, he was in habit of taking bribes from the grantees. And if they demure, he escheated their lands. On hearing the reports, Akbar removed him from the post in 1582.[7]

Generally, the grants were made either in terms of entire villages (*dar-o bast*) or a certain number of *bighas*. Sometimes the grants were scattered i.e. a person held land in more than one place. This caused great inconvenience to the grantees. They were exposed to vexations from the *khalisa* officers or *jagirdar*. In 1574-75, Akbar issued an order for all lands of grants to be recorded with their current occupants, with a view to settling them apart from the tax paying land (that is land "with the peasantry").[8]He found, apparently from this survey, that the system of assigning *madad-i ma'ash* grants in widely scattered villages was open to much abuse. The grantees could sometimes fraudulently obtain lands in two or more places on the strength of the same grant; on the other hand, the holder of a petty grant in an ordinary village was liable to oppression from officials of the *jagirdars* and the *khalisa*. He, therefore, decided in 1578 to concentrate the existing grants in certain villages within each locality and ordered that all new grants should also be made from the lands of these villages.[9] Hence forward the practice of marking out certain villages in each *pargana* for *madad-i ma'ash*

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6 *Akbarnama*,III, pp.264,408-09.

7 *Akbarnama*,III,pp.408-09;'Abdu-l Qadir Badauni,*Muntakhabu-t Tawarikh*,ed. Ahmad Ali and Lees, Bib. Ind., 3 vols. Calcutta, 164-69,II, pp.277-78; Mir'at,I, p. After his removal, first he was handed over to Hakim 'Ainu-l Mulk and later on imprisoned at Ranthambore. While trying to escape from there, he fell down and died. (*Akbarnama*, III, pp.408-09.)

8 Arif Qandahari, p.177; Cf. *Agrarian System*, pp.346-347.

9 *Akbarnama*, III, p.240; *A'in*, I, 198; Badauni, II, p.254.

grants became an established one in Mughal administration. In Gujarat, *Mir'at*, says 103 villages were assigned to *madad-i ma'ash*.[10]The English revenue Collector's report from Broach, 1776, shows seven villages in that *pargana* as "totally set apart for the grants.[11]

But in spite of this order and Akbar's efforts for consolidation and separation of *madad-i ma'ash* holdings, scattered grants continued to be made and confirmed. In Gujarat, a revenue grant was made to the Parsi priest Mahyar which was allowed to pass on to his son Kaiqubad.[12] The grant comprised 300 *bighas illahi* land of which 200 were situated in the environs of the township(*savad-i qasba*) of Navsari(*sarkar* Surat) and 100 *bighas* in village Atravi or Turi (previously in *pargana* Parchol but was transferred by 1603 to *pargana* Talari).[13]

As we have seen, generally, the grants were made either in terms of entire villages (*dar- o bast*) or a certain number of *bighas.* For example, in 1634-35,deh(village) majurah in *pargana* Chaurasi of *sarkar* Surat was granted entirely(*dar-o bast*) in *madad-i ma'ash* to Qazi Ali and his descendants(*farzandan*).[14]Likewise, Mir Qasim Gilani and his descendants had entire *mauza* Saroli (*dar-o bast*) in same *pargana* of Surat *sarkar* in their

10 *Mir'at* , I , p.26

11 *Selections from the Bombay Secretariat*, Home, II, p.183.

12 There are four documents related to this grant which first appeared in J.J.Modi, *The Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherjee Rana*, Bombay,1903.This work was reprinted in B.P.Ambashthya,ed. *Contributions on Akbar and the Parsees*, Patna,1976.Doc. I, pp.98-99- A farman of Akbar dated 1596/40 Illahi; Doc. II,p.122-A farman of Akbar dated 1603/48 Illahi;Doc. III,p.135-A hukm of Abdu-r Rahim Khan-i Khanan dated 1603/48 Illahi;Doc.IV, p. Asurvey document of this grant dated 1596/40 Illahi.

13 All the three *parganas* are listed in *A'in*, pp.497-98.For this transfer, see above quoted farman and Khan-i Khanan' s hukm of 1603.

14 Ms.Blochet 482 *BN*, ff.100a-101a.

madad-i ma'ash.[15] On the other hand, the *madad-i ma'ash* grant given to Parsi physician of Navsari, Mahr Tabib consisted of 50 *bighas* land.[16]In this regard, many instances can be quoted from extant local source for Gujarat. Mulla Abdur Rahman had 50 *bighas* of land in *pargana* Uklesar of *sarkar* Broach during Akbar and Jahangir's reign.[17]

According to Abu-l Fazl, there were four classes of persons for whom the grants were specially meant: men of learning; religious devotees; destitute persons without capacity for obtaining livelihood; and persons of noble lineage, who would not, "out of ignorance" take to any employment.[18]In Mughal Gujarat, there was an exception to this rule. Grants seem also to have been assigned to persons who could undertake some obligation to serve the population in some way or another. A series of documents (*farmans*, *parwanas* and *sanads*) testify to land and cash grants made to the Parsi physician of Navsari Mahr Tabib and his descendants who treated the poor and indigent of Navsari in *sarkar* Surat.[19]These documents show that grants to this family of physicians was originally made by the Sultans of Gujarat. Mehr Vaid and his descendents appear to have received renewed *parwanas* and *sanads* for the continued possession of these grants right through the Mughal period.

The bulk of *madad-i ma'ash* grants were conferred without imposing any obligation in return, being designated simply to maintain

15 Ms. Blochet, 482, *BN* f.101a.

16 *Studies in Parsi History*, pp.175-76

17 Ms.Blochet.482 *BN* f.104a.For more examples, see ff.100a,102b-103a,104a,111a-b,112a,112a-b,112b-113a,116b.

18 *A'in*, I, p.198.

19 See the documents(text and trs.) *Studies in Parsi History*, pp.152-188 (photocopies at the end of the volume).

certain classes. But some grants were conditional (*mashrut*). The office of the *Qazi* (judge) always had a *madad-i ma'ash* grant always attached to it. For instance, after Shahjahan's accession to throne, Mulla Ali Marandrani? 's services as *qazi* of *sarkar* Surat and his *madad-i ma'ash* grant attached to his office were retained ,as before, through a *farman*.[20]

There were also revenue-free lands held as *in'am*. We hear of a village so held by members of the Charan caste in Gujarat on condition of performing police duties.[21]

In Mughal Empire, it was quite common, to make land grants by the *jagirdars* out of their assignments. But these grants were insecure as they lasted for the time of *jagirdars*' assignment. In Sorath area of Gujarat, many grants were made by the *jagirdars* and governors (*faujdars*) of the area to the needy people.[22]In 1687-88, all such grants based on the *sanads* of the *jagirdars* and the governors (*asnad-i hukkam*) were resumed by the revenue officials in the absence of royal *sanads*. This order for acquiring the royal verification caused great inconvenience to the grantees as it was not easy for the grant holders to go to court for the royal confirmation. Khawaja Abdullah, *qazi-ul quzzat*, pleaded their case and it was ordered that the *diwan* of the province should make an inquiry from the provincial *sadr*, and after investigating locally that the person was deserving, the *sanad* should be granted.[23]

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20 Ms.Blochet 482, *BN*, f.54a.

21 *Mir'at*, I, p.288. See also W.Erskine,'Journey in Gujarat, 1822-23', *JBBRAS*,XXV,1918,p.406

22 *Mir'at*. I , p.319

23 *Ibid.*, p.319.

The *Farmans* issued to the holders of *madad-i ma'ash* grants usually contained a passage which set out the rights and favours conferred on them. The *madad-i ma'ash* grants invested the grantee with the right to collect land revenue and exempted him from "all fiscal obligations and royal demand" (*huquq-i diwani o mutalibat-i sultani*) as well as from the exactions and impositions of the officials. The standard list of obligations from which the grantee was exempted included *mal-o jihat* (land tax), *ikhrajat*(petty burdens imposed by officials) and *sair jihat* or miscellaneous transit and other taxes.[24] These documents also furnish the list of fees of officials and other taxes from which the grant was exempted. The list of the fees included:[25]

Qunalgha -a gift made to the *hakim,* particularly a pot of yoghurt which the *zamindar* was expected to take to the *hakim*,

Peshkash- presents,

Zabitana- a levy of one dam per bigha for the measuring party,

Muhrana- fee for sealing documents,

Daroghana- fee of superintendent,

Muhsilana-fee of revenue collector,

Dahnimi-five percent charge on revenue (or cess equal to it) divided between *muqaddam* and *chaudhari*,

Saddo'i qanungoi-allowance or cess equal to two percent of revenue shared between the *qanungo* and village accountant (*patwari*),

Takrar-i zira'at- obscure and *tarkari*, *zakat-al jihati* etc etc.

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24 These exemptions are listed in documents related to grant of Parsi priest Kaiqubad in Navsari. J.J.Modi, *op.cit.*,pp.93-94,119-120,133.

25 *Ibid*, pp.93-94.

But to think that the *madad-i ma'ash* holders were totally exempted from all imposts would not be entirely correct. We know of least one such impost known as *muqarrari-i aimma* that had to be paid to *jagirdar*.[26] It was prohibited by Aurangzeb in the year 1672-73 with other abwabs.[27]Besides this, they had to pay to the *zamindar* their *haqq-i milkiyat* (proprietors claim on the produce).[28]

It was usually on the waste land assigned to the grantees that they had their *khud kasht* holdings.[29] On such land they usually established orchards or had Coconut plantations.[30]

Though the grants invested the grantees with the right to enjoy the land revenue and also gave him immunity from other fiscal taxes, they were nevertheless non proprietary in nature. The grantee could not interfere with the occupancy rights of peasants or demand larger share of land revenue than was authorized. Nor they could convert *raiyati* area into *khud kasht.*[31]

As regards the kind of land that was normally given as *madad-i ma'ash*, Abu-l Fazl, says that the standing rule was to give half of the area of grant in a land already cultivated (*mazru'*) and the other half in cultivable waste (*uftada* or *banjar-i uftada*). Only when cultivable waste was not available, land under cultivation would be given, but than this land was to be reduced to three-fourths of the total granted area.[32] This rule was reflected in

26 *Mir'at*, I, p.287; I.Habib, *Agrarian System*, p.343 n.7.

27 *Ibid.*, p.287.

28 *Agrarian System*, p. 345.

29 *Ibid.*, p. 347.

30 J.J.Modi, *Parsees at the Court of Akbar*, pp.139-145; Also see I.Habib,' Agriculture and Agrarian Conditions in South Gujarat, 1596, pp.246-262.

31 *A' in*, I, p.287.

32 *Ibid*, p.199

a grant made in Navsari area to Parsi priests- Mulla Jamasp and Mulla Hoshang. For this grant, a chaknama was prepared in which 100 *bighas* of land was measured – one part of the cultivated land and three parts of the uncultivated land. [33]

As far as kind of land of grant is concerned, in case of Gujarat, we can see a trend different from the established rule. In most of the cases, the entire area given in grant was consisting of "fallow land" (*uftada* land).The *madad-i ma'ash* grant given to Parsi physician Mahr Tabib in Navsari consisted entirely "of a piece of fallow land". Information regarding *madad-i ma'ash* grants in extant local source for Gujarat enforced this trend further. Many instances can be cited from the above mentioned source. 40 *bighas* fallow land (*uftada*) was granted to Mulla? and after his death to his heirs in the *pargana* Olpar (*sarkar* Broach).[34] Likewise, Shaikh Hamid had 20 bighas *zamin-i banjar* in his grant in a village of same *pargana* Olpar.[35]In Uklesar, another *pargana* of *sarkar* Broach, Mulla Abdur Rahman had 50 bighas *uftada* (fallow land) in his *madad-i ma'ash* grant.[36] In *sarkar* Surat, same trend is visible. In *pargana* Sopa, Miran Saiyyid Hamid had 20 bighas zamin-i uftada in his *madad-i ma 'ash* grant whereas in Surat itself, Qazi Gafur had 40 *bighas zamin-i uftada* in grant.[37]In Navsari *pargana*, sons of Saiyyid Murtaza were confirmed the grant of 63 bighas including trees. Out of this land, 50 bighas was fallow (*uftada*) and 13 bighas was *mazru'*

33 See *chaknama* of 1624 from Navsari, *JBBRAS*, NS,XXV,(1917-21) pp.464-65 for an explicit reference to this rule (*zabita*).

34 Ms. Blochet 482, *BN*, f.104a.

35 Ibid., f.100a.

36 Ibid. f.104a.

37 Ibid. ff.112b-113a, 102b-103a.

(cultivated).[38]But in pargana Chaurasi of sarkar Surat, Maulana Abdul Shakoor and Maulana Mirak had 12 bighas in madad-i ma'ash, half fallow and half cultivated.[39]

In Mughal Empire, the bulk of the *madad-i maash* grants seem to have been enjoyed by persons, who fell under Abu-l Fazl's first two categories men of learning and religious devotees. But religion was no bar to the grant of *madad-i ma'ash* under the Mughals.[40] In Gujarat, besides Hindus, other non Muslim communities were also favoured with grants. Parsis, Jains and Christian missionaries benefited from the munificence of the Mughals.

During Akbar's reign, Mahyar, a Parsi priest of Navsari (*sarkar* Surat) received a grant of 300 *bighas*, which was confirmed in 1596 in favour of his son Kaiqubad.[41]When, in the 48th regnal year of his reign, Akbar curtailed the grants in Gujarat by half, this grant was not reduced to half. Through a *hasbu-l hukm* of Abdu-r Rahim Khan-i Khanan (governor of Gujarat), this grant was exempted from this general rule.[42] Akbar made grants to other Parsis also. One such grantee was Mehr Tabib, a physician of Navsari who was granted 50 *bighas* of land.[43]This grant was confirmed by Akbar's successors on his son Qiyam Parsi.[44]

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38 M.s. Blochet, 482 *BN* f.112a-b.

39 Ibid f 116b.

40 *Agranian System*, p. 356 f. n. 65

41 *Parsees at the Court of Akbar*,pp.93-94(tr.pp.95-118),119-120(tr.pp.121-132).

42 *Ibid*., p.133(tr.pp.134-138)

43 *Studies in Parsi History*, pp.167-68,171-72.Beside this, he was also granted a daily allowance(*wazifa*)(Ibid. pp.178-79,182-83).

44 *Ibid*. pp.175-76,185-86.

During Jahangir's reign, another Parsi priest benefited from the generosity of Mughals. Through a *Farman* of 1618, Jahangir confirmed a grant of 100 *bighas* on two Parsi priests (*mullas*)-Jamasp and his nephew Hoshang in Navsari (*sarkar* Surat).[45] As his sons were included among the beneficiaries, the grant continued in the family.[46]Other Parsis also got *madad-i ma'ash* grants. There is a reference in extant local documents for Gujarat to a grant of 100 *bighas* of land with trees in Navsari area of Surat to a Parsi named Mehernoush and his *farzandan* (descendants/sons) in 1640-41.From the same document, it appears that it was granted in the previous reign (of Jahangir), now it was renewed and confirmed on them in Shahjahan's reign.[47]

In Gujarat, Jains also benefited from the generosity of the Mughals. They were first introduced to the Mughal Court under Akbar and gained concessions from him.[48] Through a number of royal *Farmans*, Akbar made a number of concessions to Jains in Gujarat.[49] Among these concessions, a land grant was also made to Jains by Akbar .After the death of Jain leader, Hiravijaya in 1595, at the request of Bhanuchandra, Akbar granted several *bighas* of land in the Shah Bagh at Una in Sorath to the Jain community for the purpose of a temple in which were consecrated the footprints of Hiravijaya Suri.[50]

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45 J.J.Modi, A *Farman* of Jahangir, *JBBRAS*,N.S.XXV(1917-21),pp.422-28.

46 *Ibid*.pp.464-68,484-85.

47 Ms.Blochet 482 *BN*, f.111a-b.

48 Three great Jain leaders are recorded to have visited the court of Akbar- Hira Vijaya Suri, Vijayen Suri and Bhanuchandra.

49 Under these concessions, Akbar forbade animal slaughter during their festival of Paryushana,gave permission to rebuild and repair their temples and conferred a number of hills in Gujarat which were sacred to Jains like Girnar etc. For details, see M.S.Commissariat, *A History of Gujarat*, II,pp.231-34,240-42.

50 *Ibid*. p.238.

Jahangir also confirmed all the concessions granted by Akbar to the Jain community.[51]Following in the footsteps of his father, he also made a grant of *madad-i ma'ash* to Jains. In 1615, ten *bighas* of land was given as *madad-i ma'ash* to Jain leader Chandu Sanghavi in the village lands of Akbarpur, near Cambay in the Chaurasi *pargana*, free of all dues and charges.[52]

Shahjahan and his sons made certain grants to Shantidas, in his capacity as leader of the Jain community. In the initial years of his reign, Shahjahan directed the governors and officials of Gujarat not to allow any person to enter or put up at the temples and places which had been granted to Jains.[53]Also in his reign, Imperial Palitana *Farmans* confirmed on Shantidas the custody over the village and hill of Palitana and over the Jain temples at Shatrunjaya.[54]

Prince Murad had *pargana* of Palitana in his *Jagir* but he conferred it on Shantidas in *In'am altamgha*[55]for two lacs of *dams*. It was to be left to Shantidas and his descendants "from generation to generation" and to be considered free from all taxes and cesses.[56]During the war of succession, before his imprisonment by Aurangzeb, Prince Murad confirmed this grant related to *pargana* Palitana at Shantidas' request.[57]

51 *A History of Gujarat,* II, pp.255-257.
52 *Ibid*,p.263.
53 Ibid., p.144.
54 *Ibid*.,pp.144-45
55 For it , see *Agrarian System*,p.358.
56 *The History of Gujarat*,II, p.145.
57 Ibid., p. 146.

During Shahjahan's reign, the benefit of *madad-i ma'ash* was also extended to individual devotees. In 1647, 30 *bighas* of land along with a well situated in *mauza* Asarva, *pargana* Haveli Ahmadabad was assigned in *in'am* to Barduwan(Vardhaman),Pinju, Sati Das and Sundar Das along with their sons for the purpose of raising a garden thereon.[58]

During Aurangzeb's reign, Mughal generosity on Jain community continued. First of all, through a *farman* dated 29 July 1658, Aurangzeb confirmed all concessions granted to Shantidas during Shahjahan's reign.[59]In 1660,another *farman* was issued which not only confirms to Shantidas the village, hill and temples of Palitana, but it makes also a further grant of the hill and temples of Girnar under the Jurisdiction of Junagarh and the hills and temples of Abuji, under Sirohi, as a special favour.[60]

In 1672-73, Aurangzeb, modifying the policy of his predecessors, ordered the resumption of all grants held by Hindus through out the Empire.[61]But in Gujarat *suba*, this order was not enforced absolutely. There were few exceptions to this order. In the first place, lands granted in *in'am* to Charans in return of performing police services were not affected.[62] Further, *madad-i ma'ash* grant held by family of Paris physicians of Navsari was also not covered by this order. This grant was confirmed to them by *sanads* issued in 1664 and 1702 during the reign of Aurangzeb.[63]

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58 S.A.I.Tirmizi, *Mughal Documents* AD 1628-59,Dehli,1995, II, p.85.

59 *The History of Gujarat*, II, p.146.

60 *Ibid*.p.147. For a fascmile copy of this *farman*, see another book of same author, *Studies in the History of Gujarat*,Ahmadabad,1987,p.72.(for tr. of *farman* ,see pp.74-75)

61 *Mir'at* , I, p.288.

62 *Ibid*.

63 *Studies in Parsi History*, p.178.

The Mughal rulers did not confine their charities to the grant of land only. Money was also generously given to the deserving people. In the *A'in-i Suyurghal*, Abu-l Fazl, refers to *waza'ifs*(pensions) consisted of daily (*rozinah*), monthly(*mahiana*) and yearly(*saliana*) allowances.[64]Besides, aid was also extended to those needy persons who presented themselves at Court. The method of bestowing monetary help differed from that of granting land. It did not pass through the hands of the imperial and provincial sadr. The people made representations of the circumstances of the needy before the Emperor and they received allowances accordingly.[65] At provincial level, monetary grants were also made. Same procedure was followed for granting stipends to the people in the provinces. For example, Saiyyid Sharif had some 124 Muradi tankas as daily stipend from the revenues of *sair jihat* (urban taxes) of Surat. For its renewal and continuation, a group of people made representation to the Emperor who testified about his condition, as result of which his grant got renewal order.[66]

As far as the sources of these monetary grants at provincial level are concerned, we have much information for Gujarat *suba* in the local extant documents. One of the sources for these monetary grants was the income accrued from the Customhouse of Surat. The Mughal state had considerable income from dues collected at Surat.[67]Cash stipends from the revenues of customs were given to religious and needy people. Saiyyid Wali had a daily

64 *A'in,* I, p.198.

65 *Ibid.,* p.197.

66 Ms.Blochet.482 *BN*,ff.118a-b.

67 To have an idea of income from Surat Customhouse, see Arshia Shafqat, The Customhouse at the Port of Surat under the Mughals, *PIHC* ,67th Session,Calicut, 2006-07, Delhi,2007,pp.383-394.

wazifa from the income of *furza* (custom house).After his death; it was confirmed on his sons and family.[68] Besides *furza*, from other sources of Urban Taxes, grants were provided as well. In 1623, Saiyyid Ghafur & co. was granted monetary help from the income of grain market (*ghalla mandi*) of Surat.[69] Likewise, Saiyyid Abdul Wahhab enjoyed daily grant from the *ghalla mandi* of Surat. After his death, his grant was confirmed on his sons.[70]Abdul Mannan, a needy person had a daily monetary grant of 2 tanka Muradi from the revenues of *guzar aab* (river tolls?) in Surat.[71] Maulana Khwaja Abul Hasan, a needy person, was assigned wazifa from the income accrued from *jeziya* (toll tax) collected at Surat.[72]

In Navsari *pargana* of *sarkar* Surat, Qazi Abdullah & co. had daily stipend from the revenues of *sair jihat* (Urban taxes).After his death, this grant was resumed. But as their dependents were needy, it was confirmed on them.[73]Likewise, sons of Malik Nasiruddin and Malik Hamid enjoyed daily monetary grant from the revenues of *sair jihat* of Navsari.[74] Monetary grants were also made out of revenues of *mahals* like *tari* and *patta*.[75] In 1613-14, Saiyyid Ghafur was granted stipend from the revenues of *mahal-i tari* of Surat.[76]

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68 Ms.Blochet 482 BN, f.115a; For more instances of monetary grants paid out of *furza*, see Ibid.,ff.99b-100a,115a-b,116a-b,120a.

69 Ibid. ff.113b-114a.

70 Ibid. ff.101a-b.

71 Ibid. f.114a.

72 Ibid. f.109b.

73 Ibid. f.102b.

74 Ibid. f.102a.

75 Ibid. ff.113a-b,115b-116a.

76 Ibid. ff.113a-b.

Even Women were also recipients of monetary grants in Gujarat. In one instance, Bibi Hafiza was assigned daily stipend of four *tanka Muradi* from the revenues of *Ghalla mandi* of Surat.[77]

These monetary grants were not confined to Muslims only. From Parsi documents, we have information that Parsi physician Mahrvaid of Navsari, besides land grant, was also in receipt of a daily *wazifa* paid out of *Mandvi* (market) revenues of Navsari and Gandevi (both in *sarkar* Surat).[78]

In any case, land grants formed the bulk of the charities disbursed by the state in Gujarat. There is statement in *Mir'at* which brings out the relative sizes of land and monetary grants in Gujarat *suba*. According to it, total *jama'*(assessed revenue) alienated through *madad-i ma'ash* in Gujarat was 1, 20,000 *dams,* while total amount of cash grants stood at Rs 40,000 per annum. Since 40 *dams* went to the rupee, the monetary grants seem to have amounted to only 13.33% of the estimated income from the land grants.[79]

77 M.S. Blochet, *482 BN*. ff.114b-115a.For more instances ,see ff.105b-106a,120b(of same document)

78 *Parsees at the Court of Akbar* pp.178-183 (2 sanads dated 1583 1586).Although this allowance was meagre but according to Hodivala, was in accordance with the indigent circumstances of the family. (Ibid. p.178).Further ,they enjoyed this *wazifa* from the Gujarat Sultanate's time.

79 *Mir'at*, I, pp.25-26; *The Economy of Mughal Empire*, p.153 fn.5.

Chapter XIII

Tributary Chiefs

TRIBUTARY CHIEFS

Akbar conquered the rich province of Gujarat in 1572-73 by overthrowing the Sultan Muzaffar Shah. But the mere overthrow of Sultan Muzaffar was of little consequence unless the chiefs of Gujarat were fully subdued or pacified. Therefore, during the next twenty years, in the course of struggle with the deposed Sultan of Gujarat, we notice the Mughals consolidating their hold over the chiefs of Gujarat.[1] As we have seen, the Sultans of Gujarat, during their rule (of about a century and a quarter) in Gujarat, had forged powerful links with these local chiefs who were, now, reluctant to switch over their allegiance, immediately, to the conquering Mughals.

Under Akbar (1572-1605) as we have seen in the chapter I, the Rathor principality of Baglana had accepted the over lordship of Gujarat Sultanate and used to serve the last Gujarat Sultan, Muzaffar with 300 *sawars*.[2]

After the Mughal conquest of Gujarat, the chief of Baglana was the first of the chief of Gujarat to have submitted to Akbar. When emperor conquered Surat, which lay close to Baglana, the chief came and waited upon the emperor.[3] For the administrative purposes, it was attached to *suba* of Gujarat under Akbar.[4] In 1600-01, Pratap, the then *zamindar* of Baglana was

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1 For the presence of important chiefs in Gujarat on the eve of Mughal conquest of Gujarat, see Ahsan Raza Khan, *Chieftains in the Mughal Empire During the Reign of Akbar*, Simla, 1977, pp.77-96.

2 *Mir'at*, I, p.21.

3 *Akbarnama*, III, pp.29-30.

4 *Ibid*.,30; *A'in*,I,492.

granted the *mansab* of 3000 and honoured with *alm* and *naqarra*.[5] The next year i.e in 1601-02, the chief of Baglana rendered meritorious military services to the Mughals in the Deccan.[6]

In 1573-74, an expedition against Rai Narain Das, chief of Idar, was led by Khan-i Azam Aziz Koka, for the former was supporting the Gujarat nobles Ikhtiyar- ul Mulk and Sher Khan against the Mughals. But Khan-i A'zam does not seem to have succeeded in subduing him.[7] In the same year (1573-4) when Raja Bhagwant Das, while on expedition against Rana Pratap, ruler of Mewar, marched against Idar, its chief Rai Narain Das came and waited upon Bhagwant Das and offered him a suitable *peshkash.*[8]

Three years later (in 1576-77) Rai Narain Das was reported to be hostile, so an expedition was sent against him. At first he was perused in his mountain defiles by the imperial troops under Qulij Khan and other officers and was defeated in a pitched battle.[9]

In 1576, when Akbar was stationed at Ajmer, he sent Tarsun Khan, *faujdar* of Patan and Rai Rai Singh and others to induce Deora ruler of Sirohi to submit. He yielded to persuasion and rendered personal homage to the Emperor. As the Raja of Sirohi revolted after his return to his country, troops were sent under Rai Rai Singh and Saiyid Hashim Bhara to chastise him. The chief was defeated in the plains and his country annexed, while he fled for safety to the lofty heights of Abu garh (Mount Abu). The imperial generals

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5 *Ibid.*, pp.770-71.
6 *Ibid.*, p.791.
7 *Akbarnama,* III, p.41.
8 *Ibid.*, pp.66-67.
9 *Akbarnama,* III, pp.190-91,198-200.

were able to capture this hill fort with comparatively little difficulty and the Sirohi ruler was forced to surrender in person and to proceed to the court along with them.[10]

In 1576, the chief of Rajpipla was overawed by an army stationed near Naudat.[11]

Akbar having been informed that the administration of Gujarat did not prosper under the rule of Wazir Khan, *na'ib* nazim, sent Raja Todar Mal second time in 1577 to bring the province in order. The great finance minister was also an able commander and diplomat.[12]

On his way south, he was waited upon by the Raja of Sirohi and an agreement was made by which the latter was to serve the viceroy of Gujarat with 2000 cavalry.[13]

Similarly near Surat the ruler of Ramnagar (Dharampur) came to pay his respects and presented to him Rs 12,000, four horses and two swords as *peshkash*. Todar Mal, in turn, conferred upon him a robe of honour and a horse and recommended him for the grant of a *mansab* of 1,500 *zat*. Todar also conferred upon him territory (*makan-i zamindari*) against his *jagir* and settled that the chief of Ramnagar could wait upon the *nazims* of *suba* Gujarat with a contingent (*jamiat*) of one thousand *sawars*.

Later on, during his return journey, Todar received a visit from the chief of Dungarpur Rana Sahas Mal who also gave him allegiance.[14]

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10 *Akbarnama*,III, pp.197-198; *Mir'at*, I, p.134; Also see, I.Habib, *Atlas*, Sheet 7 A.

11 *Ibid.*, p.190.

12 *Ibid.*, pp.206-207.

13 *Mir'at*, I, p.134; *Ibid.*, supplt. p.226; *A History of Gujarat*, II, p.10.

The author of *Mir'at* informs us that around (1577) this time, the *zamindar* of Rajpipla also waited upon Todar Mal and was confirmed by him to the one-fourth (*zamindari* share) in *pargana* Naudat and to the 16 *parganas* near Nan durbar which *zamindar* held from the time of the Sultans of Gujarat on condition of his serving with 1000 horses.[15] Further, according to same source, the *desais*, the *qazis* and *waqia nigar* were also appointed in his territory.[16]

Although from the references to him in the contemporary sources we learn that in the 28th (1583-84) and the 29th (1584-85) years of Akbar's reign, he was supporting Sultan Muzaffar Gujarati against the Mughals.[17]

Though Rai Narain Das, the chief of Idar, was defeated in 1576-77, it was not until the 24th regnal year (1579-80) that he was finally subdued by Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan, the in charge of Gujarat province and subsequently, by the order of Emperor, he was confirmed in his territory.[18]

Imperial authority was not fully established in the peninsula of Sorath till nearly 20 years after the conquest of the province in 1573. According to Abu-l Fazl, the leading chief of Sorath was Amin Khan Ghori, the ruler of Junagarh who perhaps exercised his authority over the rest of the *zamindars* of Sorath.[19]

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14 *Mir'at* , I, p.136; According to Abu-l Fazl, before this, the ruler of Banswara and Dungarpur had already paid their respects to Emperor Akbar : *Akbarnama*, III, p.195. For more exact position, see I.Habib, *Atlas*, Sheet 7A.

15 *Mir'at*, supplt.p.233.

16 *Mir'at*, supplt. p.233.

17 *Akbarnama*, III, pp.429,725; *Mir'at-i Sikandari*, pp.458,467.

18 *Akbarnama*, III, p.267.

19 *Akbarnama*, III, pp.593,597,620.

In 1582, when Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan was *nazim*, M. Khan (Mirza Jan) who was related to Shihabuddin was sent to conquer Sorath. Fath Khan, son of Amin Khan rebelled and came to the Shihabuddin Khan and offered to capture its fort and to bring this important town into subjection to the emperor. A body of 4000 troops was accordingly sent under Mirza Jan, the viceroy's nephew to help the Fath Khan. Amin Khan obtained help from the Jam of Navanagar and offered a stubborn resistance. As Fath Khan died at this juncture, Mirza Jan had to abandon his designs on Junagadh.[20]

To the north east of Sorath lay Jhalawar, the territory of the Jhala Rajputs. The capital of Jhalas was Viramgoan. The authority of the Jhalas extended over the *parganas* of Halwad, Wadhwahan, Koha, Daran Gadra, Bijana, Patri etc.[21]

At the time of conquest of Gujarat, there were two important chiefs- Rai Singh Jhala, chief of Jhalawar and a separate chief named Chandra Sen who held Halwad.[22]

In the early years of Akbar's reign, Rai Singh Jhala was driven out of his territory by the nephews of Khangar, ruler of *Kutch-i Buzarg* with who he was on enmity. After 19 years of wanderings, Rai Singh Jhala came back to his territory and with the help of Khan-i Khanan, in charge of Gujarat, was reinstated as the chief of Jhalawar in 1584-5.[23]

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20 *Akbarnama*, III, p.389; *A History of Gujarat* II, pp.14-15.

21 *A'in*, I, pp.486-87.

22 *Akbarnama*, III, pp.464-65,593.

23 *Akbarnama*, III, pp. 464-65.

In the northern part of the Gujarat *suba*, a powerful chief called Khanger, held *Kutch-i Buzurg* or the Great Kutch with its capital at Bhuj.[24] During Abdu-r Rahim Khan-i Khanan's tenure as governor of Gujarat (1575-78), Wazir Khan, his *na'ib* conferred *qasba* of Morvi upon Khanger, the ruler of Kutch.[25] He died in 1585-86 and was succeeded by his son Bhara.[26] Twice between 1587 and 1589, the nephews of Khangar created disturbances in Gujarat in alliance with Sultan Muzaffar and Jam of Navanagar by extending their aggression over Halwad and Radhanpur which were held by the Jhala and Baloch chiefs respectively. However, on both the occasions, as Abu-l Fazl, tells us, they were driven back to Kutch which was plundered by Mughals and Bhara was forced to submission.[27]

Another important chief of Gujarat, on the eve of Mughal conquest, was Jam of Lesser Kutch (*Kutch-i khurd*) with his capital at Navanagar.[28] According to *Mir'at-i Ahmadi*, after the conquest of Gujarat, Jam of Navanagar submitted to Todar Mal who confirmed him in his *zamindari* of Navanagar and recommended to the Emperor for the grant of a *mansab* of five thousand *sawar* and four thousand *zat*. On the other hand, Todar Mal realized three lakhs *mahmudis* and one hundred horses as *peshkash* from the Jam.[29]

Yet from the references to the Jam of Navanagar in the *Akbarnama*, we learn that the Jam continued to retain his loyalty towards Sultan Muzaffar

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24 *A'in*, I , 492.
25 *Akbarnama*, III, p.530.
26 *Ibid*., p.472.
27 *Ibid*., pp.524,530.
28 *A'in*,I, p.492.
29 *Mir'at*, I, p.285.

Gujarati and from time to time lent him support in his struggle against the Mughals.

The rebellion of deposed Sultan Muzaffar III which lasted for nearly ten years (1583-92) and his suppression by the imperial forces was a turning point in the subjugation and consolidation of the Mughals over the Gujarat chiefs.

In 1572, on the first arrival of Akbar in Gujarat, Sultan Muzaffar III surrendered himself to the Emperor in the neighbourhood of Kadi. He had been placed in honourable durance, away from the province and kept in charge of various nobles till 1578, when he contrived to evade surveillance and took refuge, first with the ruler of Rajpipla, and later with one Lunikathi, a kathi chief in the village of Kherdi near Rajkot in Kathiawar. Here he lived for some years in obscurity and little noticed or cared for by Akbar's officers and waited for some favourable opportunity for regaining his throne.[30]

This opportunity was provided by the revolt of soldiers known as *qilchis* (a warrior group known for its skills in sword-fighting).[31] They entered into an alliance with the ex-Sultan and invited him to head the revolt. Imperial forces were defeated near Ahmadabad by Muzaffar Shah and his allies. The rebels also captured Baroda, Broach and Cambay.[32]

In 1584, Abdu-r Rahim Khan-i Khanan was sent to Gujarat to quell the rebellion. He inflicted two defeats on Sultan Muzaffar, one near Sarkhej and

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30 *Akbarnama*, III, p.410.

31 These had risen in revolt against the Mughals, but were won over by Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan , the Mughal Governor of Gujarat, when in 1581-2, he appointed them his personal retainers and assigned them *jagirs*. When It'mad Khan , who replaced Shihabuddin as governor, resumed their *jagirs*, under the instructions of Akbar, they revolted against the Mughals.(*Mir'at*, I, pp.142-43).

32 *Akbarnama*, III, pp.410-13.

another at Naudat in 1584.But Sultan Muzaffar took refuge first at Idar and then at Kathiawar.[33] For the next five years, Abdu-r Rahim Khan-i Khanan served as the viceroy of Gujarat; but the reconquest of Gujarat could not be regarded by Mughals as complete as long as Muzaffar was at large and exploring new channels of opposition. He made friendship with Junagarh chief, Amin Khan Ghori and the Jam of Nawanagar.[34] But these allies abandoned him on approach of imperial army and Muzaffar escaped to Kathiawar. Amin Khan Ghori agreed to send his son to serve the Mughals and Jam of Navanagar, through the mediation of Rai Durga and Kalyan Rai, submitted to the Mughals. He also sent his son with elephants, horses and other presents to Khan-i Khanan.[35]

But in the following year (1585-86) on the eve of Khan-i Khanan's absence from Gujarat, Sultan Muzaffar again raised disturbances in Gujarat in which he was supported by Jam of Navanagar. This time Muzaffar attacked Amin Khan of Junagarh who sought help of Mughals to defend himself. Muzaffar was not successful in this attempt due to the help of Mughals to Amin and he fled to Rann. Once again, both Amin Khan and Jam of Navanagar submitted to the Mughals and left their sons to serve in the Mughal army.[36]

Twice between 1587 and 1589, Sultan Muzaffar created disturbances in alliance with Jam of Navanagar, nephews of Khangar, ruler of Kutch. But on both occasions, Mughals were able to suppress the commotion.[37]

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33 *Ibid.*, pp.423-427.

34 *Akbarnama*, III, p.453.

35 *Ibid.*, p.454.

36 *Akbarnama*, III, pp.471-72.

37 *Ibid.*, pp.524,530.

In 1589, Abdu-r Rahim Khan-i Khanan was summoned to Court and Aziz Koka was appointed as new viceroy of Gujarat and he arrived at Ahmadabad in 1590.[38] On his arrival, the Jam of Nawanagar in alliance with Muzaffar Sultan and other chiefs of Gujarat like Daulat Khan, son of Amin Khan Ghori of Junagarh and Khangar, ruler of Kutch was in preparation of raising a resurrection against Mughals.[39] Now, Khan-i A‘zam made preparation to tackle this storm. At this juncture, imperial forces were joined by some of the chiefs of Gujarat. They were Fath Khan, son of Amin Khan Ghori of Junagarh, Chander Sen, the chief of Halwad(a Jhala Chief), Karn Purmal, and the *kalantar*(chief) of Morbi .[40] So, in 1591, a decisive battle of rebellion took place between the imperial forces(only numbering nearly 1000) and a confederate army of Sultan Muzaffar, Jam of Navanagar, Daulat Khan Ghori of Junagarh and Lonakathi (chief of Kathis) numbering nearly 30,000. The engagement was fierce and imperial forces emerged victorious. This signal defeat put a final end to the armed resistance of Muzaffar and his allies. Daulat Khan, who was wounded, fled to the fortress of Junagarh while the Sultan and Jam of Navanagar sought refuge in the Badra hills.[41]

After this victory, Aziz Koka made efforts to capture fort of Junagarh, and effect final subjugation of whole peninsula of Sorath. Daulat Khan Ghori already had died of wounds. Several of the local chiefs submitted to him, and, almost without striking a blow, he took Gogha, Mangrol, Somnath, Mahuva, and other places- in all sixteen ports in Sorath. Then, Aziz Koka besieged

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38 *Akbarnama*, III, pp.578.

39 *Ibid.*, pp.593-594.

40 *Ibid.*

41 *Ibid.* pp.594-595,597.

Junagarh fort for three months. Miyan Khan, the son and successor of Daulat Khan, handed over the keys of the fort of Junagarh to Aziz Koka and also waited upon him along with his brothers and other relations. All of them were granted *khilats* and rich *jagirs* in *tankhawah*(1592).[42]

Following his defeat, Sultan Muzaffar took shelter with Badhel chiefs in peninsula, then with the chief of Kutch, Bhara. After subjugation of Junagarh, Aziz Koka made efforts to capture Muzaffar. From there, he proceeded towards Kutch. On his way, Jam of Navanagar came with his sons and renewed his allegiance and promised to remain loyal to the Emperor.[43] Now, Aziz Koka marched towards Bhara's country and threatened to capture it and give it over to the Jam of Navanagar who had recently submitted to the Mughals. At this threat, Bhara offered to submit himself and surrender Sultan Muzaffar to the Mughals provided he was exempted from military service was rewarded with the *pargana* of Morvi, which meanwhile seems to have been resumed. The Mughals accepted Bhara's condition and latter surrendered Sultan Muzaffar to Mughals and on the way to Ahmadabad; he committed suicide (1592-93). [44]

During the course and suppression of this rebellion, almost all chiefs of Gujarat were made to accept the over lordship of Mughals. Only after the defeat and death of Sultan Muzaffar in 1593, important chiefs of Gujarat reconciled themselves to the establishment of Mughal Empire. After that we do not find any uprising on the part of chiefs of Gujarat against Mughals.

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42 *Akbarnama*,III, p.620.
43 *Ibid.*, p.629.
44 *Akbarnama*, III, p.629-30.

Under Jahangir (1605-1627), chiefs of Gujarat staged no uprising and furnished their contingents to the service of *nazim*, whenever it was required. When Emperor Jahangir toured the *suba* in 1617-18, all the important chiefs paid their personal homage to the Emperor.

In 1609-10, Malik Ambar, the famous general and minister of the Nizam Shahi ruler invaded Gujarat with a body of 50,000 horses and plundered the villages in the area of Surat and Baroda. In order to prevent future inroads into Gujarat a body of 25,000 horses was, under imperial orders, posted for four years at Ramnagar on the eastern frontier of the province. The force was made up of contingents to be provided by the *Nazim* and his nobles and also by the tributary chiefs of Gujarat who were bound to furnish military help to the *nazim* whenever required to do so. The details given by the author of the *Mir'at-i Ahmadi* help to give us an accurate list of these chiefs attached to Gujarat and their relative resources. Out of 26,650 troops, 15,500 were provided by the tributary chiefs of Gujarat-3000 by Baglana, 2500 by chiefs of Navanagar and Cutch each, 2000 by Idar, Dungarpur, Banswada, and Rajpipla each and 650 troops by chief of Ali and Mohan[45].

Nizam of Ahmadabad,	4000
Mughal nobles posted in Gujarat	5000
The chief of Salher and Mulher (Baglana)	3000
The son of the ruler of Kutch	2500
The chief of Navanagar	2500
The chief of Idar	2000

45 *Mir'at*, I, p.189

The chief of Dungarpur	2000
The chief of Banswada	2000
The chief of Rajpipla	2000
The chief of Ali	300
And Mohan	350
	26, 650 troops.

In 1617-18, Jahangir went on an imperial tour to Gujarat. Among the chief who came to pay their homage to the Emperor during his stay at Ahmadabad (12th RY, 1617) was Raja Kalyan, *zamindar* of Idar. He brought as offering nine horses and an elephant. About him, Jahangir writes in *Tuzuk* that his ancestors braved the might of the Sultans of Gujarat for two centuries. After reduced to obedience, they never waited personally on the Sultans. After the Mughal conquest of the province by Akbar, their attitude had changed; they enrolled themselves among the servants of the state, waited on the representatives of the Emperor at Ahmadabad, and sent up their contingents for military service whenever required.[46]

Besides him, in the same year and place, Chander Sen, the *zamindar* of Halwad (a Jhala chief) also presented an offering of nine horses to Jahangir. In return, he was bestowed upon a dress of honour, a horse and an elephant.[47]

In 1618, when passing through the town of Balasinor, Jahangir halted on the banks of Mahi River, where Jam Jasaji, the chief of Navanagar, arrived to offer his *peshkash* consisting of 50 horses, 100 *muhrs* and 100 rupees. According to *Tuzuk*, he was one of the chief *zamindars* of Gujarat and always

46 *Tuzuk*, pp.211-212.
47 *Ibid.*, pp.211, 215.

maintained 5000 or 6000 horses, for services of Mughals and in time of war could supply nearly double that number. After a short stay in the royal camp, the Jam was dismissed to his native country with several presents, including a jeweled waist sword, a rosary and two horses, one a Turki and the other from Iraq.[48]

About July 3, 1618, Rao Bhara, the ruler of Kutch, the most important chief in the Mughal *suba* of Gujarat, came to Ahmadabad to pay his respects to Jahangir. During the Emperor's first stay in Ahmadabad,[49] the Rao had not come to wait upon on him and so Prince Shahjahan (as in charge of Gujarat *suba*) had appointed his trusted officer Raja Vikramajit, to lead an army into Kutch. Rao Bhara, therefore, hastened to render submission with a handsome present of 2000 rupees and a hundred horses. Jahangir was very gratified at the honour done to him, as none of the Rao's ancestors had ever come in person to render homage to the Sultans of Gujarat. Rao Bhara was at this time over 80 years of age, but in full possession of his powers of body and mind.[50] Later on, at Mahamudabad, the Emperor presented him with two elephants; a jeweled dagger and four rings set with precious stones and granted him leave to go.[51]

It may be related here that ever since the time of Sultan Mahmud Shah III (1538-54) the chiefs of Kutch (chiefs of Navanagar and Bhuj)   are said to have been granted permission to mint coins.[52]They continued to successfully

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48 *Ibid.*, pp.220,224;cf *Mir'at*, I, p.193.

49 Jahangir was forced to return Ahmadabad for second time because of the outbreak of plaque at Agra.

50 *Tuzuk*, p.234; cf *Mir'at*, I,p.194.

51 *Ibid*.

52 *The History of Gujarat*, I , p.500; II, p.26n22

maintain the circulation of its own brand of *mahmudi* (also known as *kori*) through out the reign of Akbar and possibly Jahangir as well.[53]

During Shahjahan's (1628-1657), Mughals had by and large maintained cordial relations with chiefs of Gujarat except Jam of Navanagar and chief of Sirohi.

In 1629 Sher Khan, *nazim* of Gujarat was instructed to provide help to Khwaja Abul Hasan who was sent to subdue Nasik Trimbak and Sangameer. On the completion of this task, Sher Khan sent his servant to collect *peshkash* with five elephants from *zamindar* of Baglana. It was collected and sent to the royal court.[54] In 1638, Baglana was annexed to the imperial domain but was treated as separate territory (*wilayat*), but without the status of a *suba*.[55]

In 1630, Jamal Khan, *qarawal* was directed to hunt elephants towards Sultanpur (in *suba* Malwa) and Rajpipla.[56] The latter was under the political control of *nazim* of Gujarat. In this task, 70 elephants of worth one lakh rupees were sent to Imperial court.[57]

According to *Mir'at*, the responsibility of collecting *peshkash* from the chiefdom of Ramnagar was attached to the office *mutasaddi* (governor) of Surat. During A'zam Khan's tenure of governorship of Gujarat (1636-42), 9000 as *peshkash* was collected.[58]But, in 1638, a fresh imposition of tribute was negotiated with the chief of Ramnagar. It was occupied by imperial

53 *Mir'at*, supplt. pp.219-20; *The History of Gujarat*,II, p.76.

54 *Mir'at*, I, pp.204-05.

55 Lahori, II, pp.105-07.It was later on joined to *suba* Khandesh as one of its *sarkars*. (I.Habib, *Atlas*, Sheet 7 A)

56 Rajpipla was famous for elephants (Lahori, I, p.331; *Mir'at*, I, 214).

57 *Mir'at*, I, p.205; Lahori, I, 331.

58 *Mir'at*,supplt. p.228.

forces but very soon it was restored to the *zamindar* on account of excessive administrative expenditure. Rs. 10,000 was fixed as annual *peshkash*.[59]

In 1641, A‘zam Khan, the *subadar* of Gujarat organized a military expedition against the Jam, the chief of Navanagar. According to Lahori, he did not observe the same subservience in his deeds which is expected of the *zamindars.* The Khan swiftly set out on his way to discipline him. When he reached a distance of seven *karohs* from Navanagar, which is the place of residence of the above mentioned chief (*marzban*), the A‘zam Khan sent him a message that unless he [Jam] agreed on payment of tribute and discontinuance of the Navanagar mint, which is situated in the heart of his territory and where the coin *mahmudi* is struck, there is no way out for him. The said zamindar that had no choice other than offering his allegiance gave [away] one hundred horses of Kutch and three lakhs *mahmudis* by way of tribute (*peshkash*) and consented to overthrow the mint.[60] He was likewise ordered to surrender the refugees from the frontier districts of Gujarat who had taken up residence in his territory. The Jam also consented to send his son with a contingent of troops to the *subadar*'s camp whenever the latter was engaged in chastising the *grasias* of the peninsula.[61]

In 1648, Shaista Khan was transferred from the governorship of Gujarat and Prince Dara Shikoh was given charge of Gujarat who sent his trusted officer Baqir Beg to Ahmadabad with the title of Ghairat Khan as his deputy. When this noble arrived on the frontiers of the province, the ruler of Sirohi in

59 Lahori, II, p.109; Ms. Blochet 482 *BN* ff.97a.

60 Lahori, II, pp.231-32; *Mir'at*, I, pp.213-14.

61 *Mir'at*, I, pp.213-14.

Rajputana presented himself and agreed to give one hundred gold *muhrs* and fifteen thousand rupees as *peshkash*. But owing to some disagreement, the ruler of Sirohi departed and the author of the *Mir'at-i Ahmadi* says that since that date no ruler of Sirohi ever came to pay personal homage to the *nazims* of the *suba*. [62]

In 1664, on occasion of Shivaji's raid on Surat, the *zamindars* of Idar, Dungarpur and others came with their contingents to help the *nazim* Mahabat Khan in his projected campaign against the Marathas. For this campaign, the *zamindar* of Idar, named Shadi Mal, came with 200 *sawars* and of Dungarpur, with 1000 *sawars*.[63]

The reign of Aurangzeb (1657-1707) saw intervention of Mughals into the internal matters of some chiefs of Gujarat.

In 1661, Qutbuddin Khan, the governor (*faujdar*) of Sorath was made interim *nazim* (governor) of *suba* as Jaswant Singh, and then governor was employed in Decca against Marathas.

As we have already seen, Jam of Navanagar was chiefdom under the political control of the *subadar* of Gujarat.[64]Around this time (1660-61), a dispute over the succession to the throne of this chiefdom occurred on the death of Jam Ranmalji between Chhatrasal, son of the deceased *zamindar* Rammal and Rai Singh, his uncle (brother of Rammal).[65]

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62 *Mir'at*, I, p.224. The *sarkar* of Sirohi was a part of Ajmer province at the time of *A'in*. At uncertain date, it was divided into the *sarkars* of Bansballa, Dungarpur and Sirohi, which were all transferred to Gujarat(cf.*Mir'at*, supplt.pp.225-26).

63 *Mir'at*, I, p.256.

64 '*Alamgirnama*, pp.768-69; *Mir'at*, I, p.254.

65 *Ibid.*; *A History of Gujarat*, II, pp.166-67.

It led to the intervention of imperial officers of the province in the Navanagar affairs.

Qutbuddin Khan, the *faujdar* of Sorath and acting viceroy of Gujarat defeated Rai Singh and killed him. Qutbuddin Khan restored Chhatrasal nominally to the throne. The name of Navanagar was changed to Islamnagar by imperial orders and it was annexed with all its dependencies in Halar to the Mughal territories in Kathiawar.[66] So direct Mughal administration was established at Navanagar and a *faujdar*, *diwan* and *darogha-i mandvi* were appointed to look after its administration and revenue collection. But the son of the defeated Rai Singh, Tamachi continued his defiance for about nine years (1663-72).[67] In 1672, during the *subadari* of Jaswant Singh, the throne of Navanagar was restored to Tamachi, (son of deceased Rai Singh) and *mansabs* were granted to him, to his brother and son Lakha with out any branding and verification obligation Twenty five villages were also given in *In'am* to the Jam ruler. According to *Mir'at*, 9 mahals including *pargana* Khambaliya was granted to him in *jagir*. But he was not to interfere with the revenue collection arrangement established in his capital by the Mughals. Further he was bound to supply a contingent of 1,000 cavalry and as many foot soldiers to the army of the *subadar* of the province when required.[68] After his restoration, Jams remained on peaceful terms with the Mughal till the death of Aurangzeb. In 1690, Jam Tamachi died. After his death some differences arose between his sons. So, in 1695-96, Bilaq Beg, a *gurzbardar* (mace-bearers) was appointed to sort out differences between lakha

66 *'Alamgirnama*, pp.768-75; *Ma'asir-i Alamgiri*, p.43; *Mir'at*, I , pp.284-85.

67 *A History of Gujarat* II, pp.167-68.

68 *Mir'at*, I, p.284; *Ibid.* supplt. pp.219-220.

brothers.[69] During the *subadari* of Shuja'at Khan, in 1696-97 *diwan* of the *suba* was ordered to realize the share of *khalsa* which was due on the Lakhaji, sons and grandsons of the Jam Tamachi.[70]

From the information in the *Akhbarat* of Prince A'zam who was governor of Gujarat (AD 1701-1705) in the first half of the eighteenth century, we found Jam Lakhaji, son of Jam Tamachi, sending presents and *peshkash* in the form of horses, leopards, deer etc to the governor of the province.[71] His son was also employed with imperial forces posted at Surat to tackle Maratha raids.[72] In the weakening of imperial authority in Kathiawar after the death of Aurangzeb, Jam Raisinghji (1709-18), the grandson of Jam Tamachi succeeded in driving out the Mughal *faujdar* from Navanagar and established himself in the capital. It was under his possession during the *Mir'at-i Ahmadi*'s author time (i.e.1761).[73]

Maharaja Jaswant Singh's 2nd tenure of office as *subadar* (1670-72) also witnessed Mughal intervention in the affairs of Halwad in Sorath. The head of all the Jhala principalities at this time; whose capital was at Halwad, was also named Jaswant Singh, and he had ascended the *gadi* in or about 1672 on his father's death, though not without suspicion of having secured the murder of his elder brother Chandrasinghji. The latter's daughter instigated the viceroy (Jaswant Singh) to attack Halwad in order to take revenge on her uncle. What ever the cause, there was some fighting in which the ruler of

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69 *Ibid.* I, p.331.

70 *Ibid.*, p.334.

71 *Akhbarat* A, 19,20.

72 *Ibid.*, 20.

73 *Mir'at*, I, p.25.

Halwad was defeated and took refuge in the area of the Rann of Kutch. After his expulsion, the state was granted as *jagir* to Nazar Ali Khan who held it for 6 years, when he was expelled by the Jhala ruler of Wankaner who enjoyed power there for about two years. During all these years, Maharaja Jaswant Singh had not given up hopes of recovering his throne and he had probably many supporters to uphold his claims. In or about 1680 he regained Halwad where he enjoyed a long reign till his death in 1718. On recovering his patrimony, Rana Jaswant Singh received a *farman* from the Emperor Aurangzeb in 1680 confirming him in possession of Halwad. Through this *farman,* the *mahal* of Halwad together with all its villages and salt pans was assigned, in accordance with the *sanads* granted by the former rulers, to the Jhala Rajput Jaswant Singh and his descendants from generation to generation. Further, that the order through which the said *mahal* had been assigned by His Majesty as *jagir* to Nazar Ali Khan, who received every year the sum of twenty five thousand rupees as the claim for the payment of the sum was rendered void. The *farman* proceeds to direct that, the original *jagirdar* i.e. Jaswant Singh may perform the duty of loyalty and of care-taker of villages and should keep the roads safe from highway robbers and make such rules and regulations that all subjects may live in peace and safety.[74]

In the year 1706-07, Nazar Ali Khan, who had formerly held the *jagir* of Halwad in Jhalawar (1672-78), and had been deprived of the same by the ruler of Wankar, was appointed by the Prince Bidar Bakht (acting governor of Gujarat) as *faujdar* of Halwad if he could drive out its Jhala ruler.[75] *Mir'at*,

74 *A History of Gujarat*, II, pp.174-175.

75 *Mir'at* I, p.372.

further states that in the reign of Bahadur Shah, the *pargana* Of Halwad (Muhammadnagar) was in the *jagir* of Nazar Ali Khan and *zamindar* of the place used to pay Rs 25,000 annually as price of *jagir*. After some time, it became *ghair ‘amli* and *nazim* of the *suba* was to collect it as *peshkash*.[76] In 1714, the *nazim* Dawood Khan (1713-15), while collecting *peshkash* came to Kathiawar and Nawanagar. He collected as much *peshkash* as he could. On his way back to Ahmadabad, he married the daughter of *zamindar* of Halwad.[77]

Under Aurangzeb, the *zamindar* of Idar was defeated and his territory was also occupied by the Mughals and officials were appointed there. From our sources it is not clear when the *zamindar* of Idar was expelled from his territory. In 1662, Sardar Khan, the *faujdar* of Broach was transferred to the charge of Idar to bring under complete subjection the unruly elements in the *pargana* of Idar and to exterminate all rebels.[78]

About the year 1679, the ruler of Idar, Rao Gopinath, who had long been leading the life of an out law, managed to recover possession of his capital with the help of his Rajput followers. Thereupon, Muhammad Amin Khan, the governor of Gujarat, appointed one of his officers, named Muhammad Bahlol Shirani, to the task of driving him out. The latter was brave and experienced commander and he marched on Idar with a force of cavalry. Proceeding by way of Parantij, he reached Idar, whose ruler had taken refuge in his hill fortress for safety; but when Shirani stormed this

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76 *Mir’at*, supplt.p.219.

77 *Mir’at*, I,pp.409-10.

78 *Mir’at*, I,p.253.

citadel, the Raja fled from his fort into the hills. For some time, all search after him proved to be vain, till at last a man, who had gone into the defiles for collecting firewood found his dead body. He cut off the dead man's head, and brought it to Muhammad Bahlol, who after establishing his identity forwarded it, along with some captives, to the *subadar* at Ahmadabad with full details of the expedition. When the news was conveyed to the Emperor, he ordered an increase in the *mansab* of Bahlol Shirani and appointed him as *faujdar* of Idar.[79] The territory remained under the direct administration of Mughals till the death of Aurangzeb. During Prince A'zam's governorship of Gujarat, Saiyyid Kamal Khan was *faujdar* of Idar and Modasa.[80]

Under Aurangzeb, the *zamindar* of Dungarpur also adopted the defiant attitude. First of all, in 1684, the *diwan* of *suba*, Muhammad Tahir was directed to collect arrears of revenue worth Rs 66,690 from the *zamindar* of Dungarpur.[81] The *Akhbarat* of Prince A'zam contained some information about the attitude of *zamindar* of Dungarpur. In 47th R.Y. of Aurangzeb (1704), it was reported that in previous years, the said *zamindar* used to send *peshkash* annually, serve the *nazim* of the *suba* for six months in a year and had his *wakil* at the provincial court. But from last six months, neither he had sent any *peshkash* nor had come for service to *nazim* of the *suba*. He had also killed two officers sent by imperial authorities to collect *peshkash* from him. At this juncture, *nazim* of the *suba*, Prince A'zam appointed Bahadur Shirani and Saiyid Sultan to bring this defiant *zamindar* to the provincial court.[82]

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79 *Ibid.*, pp.294-95.
80 *Akhbarat* A, 35,69,83,89,90.
81 *Mir'at*, I, p.305.
82 *Akhbarat* A, 108.

For Rajpipla chiefdom, we have information in the *Akhbarat* of Prince A‘zam. It shows that during the first decade of 18th century, when Prince A ‘zam was Governor of Gujarat (AD 1701-05), the chief of Rajpipla was not paying *peshkash* regularly and willingly. The use of force ensured the collection of *peshkash. Faujdars* of Godhra, Baroda, Sanvali, Sankhera, Azamabad, Kajnah and Bahadurpur were ordered to undertake military expedition in order to ensure the collection of *peshkash* from the chief of Rajpipla. Eventually, Rs 32,000/- were collected from its chief as *peshkash.*[83] The whole process took about seven or eight months.[84]In subsequent *Akhbarat,* it is reported that during a raid of Marathas in the vicinity of Surat around 1703-04, *thanadar* of the Rajpipla, a relative of its *zamindar*, lost his life while defending the place against the onslaught of Marathas.[85]

83 *Akhbarat* A, 12, 13, 14, 16, 23 and 86.

84 The expedition started in the month of Safar (R.Y. 46) and completed in the Ramzan (R.Y. 47).

85 *Akhbarat* A, 98.

Conclusion

CONCLUSION

The extension of Mughal rule to Gujarat in 1572-73, on the whole, ushered a period of stability and profound peace in the *suba* undisturbed by foreign invasions or domestic strife till the death of Aurangzeb in 1707. During their rule, Mughals established their provincial administration in Gujarat involving a chain officers at various levels appointed from the imperial headquarters. At times, the provincial administrative structure was exact replica of other *subas*, but sometimes innovations were made to accommodate the peculiarities of the region.

Under Gujarat Sultans, administrative structure was more or less modeled on pattern of Delhi sultanate. Assignment system was the basic structure around which whole administration was built up. Nobles holding territory as assignment was given both the administrative as well as fiscal rights over it and in return for this favour they fulfilled the obligation of serving the sultan with a contingent. Hereditary character of the assignment led to the division of sultanate into assignments of important nobles whose mutual conflicts facilitated the annexation of the sultanate to the Mughal Empire in 1572-73. For the local administration, the offices of *kotwal* and *qazis* were there but not much information is forthcoming about other spheres of administration especially about land revenue. It seems that bureaucratic administration did not have wide prevalence in that period. The sultanate of Gujarat faced a stiff resistance from the hereditary chiefs of the region. But sultans, one by one eliminated big chiefs like those of Junagarh, Jagat and Champanir by the second half of fifteenth century and most of their territories

were brought under the direct control of the sultanate. The lesser chiefs like those of Idar, Nadaut, Rajpipla, Jhalawar and Kutch were gradually forced to accept conditions of military service in return for *banth*, that is, one-fourth share of their original revenues, while *talpad* or three-fourths of the original revenues, were taken over by the central authority.

After the conquest of Gujarat, Mughals imposed their provincial administration in the region. Under it, governor (also called *hakim, nazim* or *subadar*) was appointed on a regular basis from the centre. He was chief executive of the *suba* having wide powers and functions. He was responsible for the executive, defense and justice, regulation of trade and general supervision of the *suba.* He was, in fact, answerable to everything happened in the *suba*.

In city administration, the offices of *kotwal* and *qazi* were almost present in every Mughal city. But the provision of two *kotwals* for the administration of provincial city, Ahmadabad was unique to Gujarat provincial administration. There were two *kotwals- kotwal-i balda* (or *shahr*) and *kotwal-i lashkar,* the former administering the city and the latter military encampment.

Another officer, seems to be not present in other Mughal cities, was *faujdar-i gird,* policing the territory around the city of Ahmadabad.

In the early eighteenth century, an officer called *nagarsheth* became part of city administration of Ahmadabad. He was mainly responsible for the collection of taxes from merchants. His emergence as an officer was in the

background of frequent Maratha raids on Gujarat during the first quarter of eighteenth century.

Under the Mughals, Surat was the premier port of the empire. For administrative convenience, it was constituted into a separate unit, forming sub-division of *suba* but practically independent of its authority. *Mutasaddi* (called by English as Governor) appointed directly from the imperial court was chief executive of the Surat port. Sometimes, this office was given on farm (*ijara*) which brought many merchants and officials involved in mercantile activities to the helms of this office such as Mirza Ishaq Beg, Ali Akbar Isfahani, Mir Musa and Masih-uz Zaman. The wide powers of *mutasaddi* mainly included the collection of revenues from the various *mahals* of *sa'ir* (custom house, mint, grain market etc) of port, its adjoining areas and responsibility for the defense and safety of the port. On few occasions, dismissal of *mutasaddi* was affected at the complaints of merchants of Surat. The custom house of Surat was under the direct jurisdiction of *mutasaddi* who appointed his agent (known as *darogha-i furza* or *shahbandar* or Customer) to collect dues on goods exported or imported. Sometimes, this office was also held by merchants like Haji Muhammad Zahid Beg, an influential local merchant of Surat. Other officers like *diwan*, *qiledar*, *qazi*, *kotwal* etc were also there to help *mutasaddi* in the general administration of the port.

In the executive branch of provincial administration, the post of *faujdar* ranked next to the *nazim* (governor) whose primary concern was the maintenance of law and order. In Gujarat, the presence of kolis, kathis and

zor-talab zamindars had made the position of *faujdar* quite important and crucial in the administrative structure. Further, Gujarat had brisk mercantile activities both internal and external which demanded security on routes. Apart from their jurisdiction, *faujdars* were employed in the areas of disturbances. In Gujarat, three types of *faujdars*, based on variation of size and importance of jurisdiction, were found. *Faujdars* of Sorath used to be nobles of high rank while *faujdar-i gird* (of the environs of the city of Ahmadabad) was a very small *faujdar*. Between them were the average size *faujdars* which mostly comprised *faujdars* designated *qila'cha nashin* (*faujdar* having *qila*.) Scrutiny of the *Akhbarat* reveals that payment of *peshkash* could influence the appointment and dismissal of the *faujdars*. In the same source, a number of complaints, both collective as well as individual, against the *faujdars* of the *suba* are recorded. Consequently, action was taken against the defaulters.

Judicial administration mainly consisted of *qazis* at all levels – provincial, *sarkar*, *pargana*, and city and even in some chiefdoms. In Gujarat, *qazis'* jurisdiction was extended to civil, inheritance, marriages, criminal, mercantile disputes. In civil matters, all property transactions (sale deeds, gift deeds or transfer deeds) were to be registered with the local *qazi* irrespective of religion or community. But he was not given power to inflict capital punishment on anyone. His role was also crucial in regulation of trade and commerce like levy of tolls on goods in transit after his valuation. He registered contracts and agreements, and also attested and verified them. Officers like *mir'adl* and *darogha-i 'adalat* were also there to provide justice to common people.

Under Mughals, Gujarat ports were entry points of silver imports in the form of bullion and specie – to be converted into Mughal coins. As a result of this, and to cater to the needs of overseas trade, mints were established in Gujarat, among which Ahmadabad and Surat mints were the largest. Along imperial coins, local currency *mahmudi* was allowed to circulate till the 1640. Later on, mints were established at places like Junagarh and Islamnagar for the melting of *mahmudis.* In the mint administration, the main officers were *darogha*, *amin*, *sarraf* and *mushrif*, appointed from the centre, among other minor officials and skilled workers.

About mode of assessment of land revenue, conflicting evidences are recorded in contemporary sources. Sometimes, it looks that *zabt* system was there; sometimes *nasq* was appeared to be practiced. But about measurement, a later independent source (in the form of report of English revenue Collector of Broach of 1776) established it beyond doubt that Gujarat was covered by measurement. There in no doubt regarding the higher incidence of revenue demand. It was close to three-fourths instead of one-half, the norm in northern India.

Khalsa land was quite extensive in the province of Gujarat. In addition to it, *Jagirs*, territorial as well as markets of larger towns and ports, were assigned to favourite members of imperial family like Nur Jahan, Jahan Ara and high officials of the *suba.* For the collection of revenue from these lands, a chain of officials were appointed at all levels like '*amil*, *fotadar*, *karkun* etc. The whole revenue machinery was headed and supervised by *diwan* of the

province. Information in the *Akhbarat* sheds light on practical working of the *jagir* system in Gujarat like resumption of *jagirs* on non compliance of branding and verification regulations etc.. As a general practice, *ijara* or revenue farming lay under official disapproval but was often practiced in both *khalsa* and *jagir* lands of Gujarat. Out of their *jagirs*, the princes sometimes granted *jagirs* to their own officials. *Jagirdars*, it seems, were oppressive on peasants, exacted illegal cesses (*rahdari*, *mahi* etc) from traders and obstructed working of imperial officials.

In Gujarat, in the territories under direct imperial administration, both submissive and refractory *zamindars* existed. An agreement was made by the Mughal authorities with these *zamindars* by which villages of *zamindars* were divided into two portions, the revenue of one of which, the *banth* were to be retained by the *zamindars*, of the other called *talpad* were to be collected by the imperial authorities. This arrangement was in place, also, during the rule of Gujarat Sultans. But in Gujarat, *Zamindar* 's total income in relation to land revenue was 30 to 35 per cent (15 to 20 per cent in other *subas*). It was due to higher rate of *malikana* (proprietary right). *Zamindars* were also a major support of the Mughal land revenue machinery. If they cooperated with administration and paid their *peshkash* regularly, they were accommodated in state machinery. The office of *chaudhari* or *desai*, at *pargana* level was mostly held by *zamindar* of the area. Although, his post was hereditary, but his appointment and dismissal was affected by an imperial order.

In a *farman* addressed to *diwan* of Gujarat, Muhammad Hashim, issued in 1668-69, peasants were termed as *malik* and *arbab-i zamin* (land owners)

and full rights of sale and mortgage was invested in them. They were also given rights to permanent and hereditary occupancy. But the peasants did not possess freedom of mobility and right to refuse to cultivate if they wished. For Gujarat, many instances of migration of peasants from their original places have been reported in extant local documents. Through imperial *farmans*, they were ordered to return to their original places. Modern scholars have cited abundance of land and scarcity of peasants as reasons for this policy.

Like the other regions of Mughal Empire, the institution of village community was in existence in Gujarat as well. Under it, village, not individual peasant, was considered as the fiscal unit for the assessment and collection of revenue and hereditary officials like *muqaddam* and *patwari* got the job done. There was also concept of village funds to meet revenue demands, fees of village officials etc. and revenue free lands (*banth*) to be granted to village servants.

In Gujarat, both types of grant – in cash and land – were made to the certain favoured section of the people. These grants were also assigned to persons who serve the population in some way, for instance Parsi physician Mehr Tabib of Navsari who treated the poor and indigent. This grant was not even resumed when Aurangzeb ordered resumption of all grants held by Hindus through out the Empire. In addition to it, other communities like Jains, Parsis were also favoured with grants. Usually, in grants, half cultivated and half cultivable waste land was given. In Gujarat, in most of the cases, the entire area given in grant was consisting of fallow land (*uftada*). In Gujarat, cash grants were also made generously from sources of urban taxes like *furza*

(custom house), Ghalla mandi (grain market) etc. But land grants formed the bulk of the charities disbursed by the state in Gujarat.

On the whole, Mughal Empire maintained friendly relations with the tributary chiefs /autonomous of various stature of the Gujarat. All the chiefs accepted the over lordship of the Mughals after some resistance in the initial years. They also paid personal homage to the Emperor Jahangir when he visited the *suba* of Gujarat in 1617-18. Chiefs of Gujarat also furnished their contingents to serve the Governor of the Gujarat whenever it was required. Once the imperial government had exacted military service or tribute from the chiefs, it left them free to manage their internal affairs as they wished. Unlike Rajputs, most of the chiefs of Gujarat did not entered imperial service and obtained *mansabs* or ranks. But some chiefs were granted permission to mint local coin of Gujarat *mahmudi* in the name of Mughals, for instance chief of Baglana till its annexation to imperial domains in 1638. Chiefs of Kutch (chiefs of Bhuj and Navanagar) were also allowed to continue their circulation of *mahmudis* till the reign of Jahangir.

In the reign of Aurangzeb, there was imperial intervention in some chiefdom but over all no major uprising or rebellion was taken place. It was after the death of Aurangzeb and weakening of imperial authority, chiefs started asserting their authority and becoming independent.

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